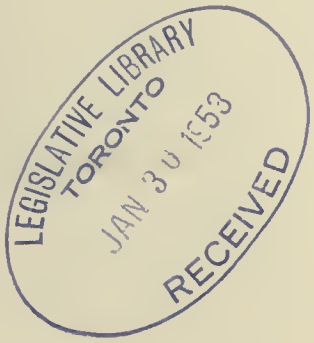

ONTARIO

Fourth Session
of the
Twenty-Third Legislature
of the
Province of Ontario

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Toronto, Ontario, September 24, 1951, et seq.

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Volume I

Monday, September 24, 1951.

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HON. (Rev.) M. C. DAVIES, - Speaker.

R. C. Sturgeon,
Chief Hansard Reporter
Parliament Buildings
Toronto

P R O C E E D I N G S

of the

FOURTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-THIRD LEGISLATURE OF THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO, HELD IN THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER, TORONTO, ONTARIO, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1951, et seq.,

Hon. (Rev.) M. C. Davies, Speaker,

In the Chair.

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Toronto, Ontario.
Monday, September 24, 195o.
3:00 o'clock, p. m.

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And the House having met.

The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, then entered the House, and, being seated on the Throne, was pleased to open the session by the following gracious speech.

Mr. Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly:

I am happy to extend to each of you my greetings on the occasion of this special session of the Twenty-third Legislature of Ontario.

It is with deep regret we learn of the illness of His Majesty, The King. In the heavy duties of his high office he has given of himself unsparingly. We all pray that he may be completely restored to health and be long spared to reign over his people who hold him in the deepest of respect and affection.

This session of the Legislature has been convened to consider legislation of far reaching effect for our people and its deliberations will be historic.

Last December representatives of the Government of Canada and all of the Provinces met in Ottawa to consider proposals for our senior citizens. An agreement was arrived at providing for Old Age Pensions without a means test for all of our citizens of seventy years and over and for Old Age Assistance with an eligibility test for citizens in the age group from sixty-five to sixty-nine years. This agreement necessitated an amendment to the British North America Act, the form of which was agreed upon by the Federal and Provincial Governments early this year. On an address from the Canadian Parliament the Parliament at Westminster passed the amendment.

This special session has been called for the purpose of considering legislation which if approved will enable my Government to enter into appropriate

agreements with the Government of Canada under which the Province will participate in making financial assistance available, as contemplated in those agreements, to those of our citizens who come within the age group of sixty-five to sixty-nine years.

It is the desire of my Government that the citizens of our Province will benefit fully commencing January 1st, 1952, under the Federal-Provincial agreement. You will also be asked to consider the extension of certain health services to Old Age Pensioners, to those receiving assistance, and to all needy blind persons who are twenty-one years of age and over.

I express the wish that your deliberation and decisions in regard to the matters which come before you will be guided by Divine Providence.

Prayers.

MR. SPEAKER: I beg to inform the House, that to prevent mistakes, I have obtained a copy of His Honour's speech, which he read.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, at this time according to the custom of this House, over, I believe, all time, and, indeed, according to the customs of legislature and parliament in the British tradition, a Bill has been introduced, but to-day we have

felt, in viewbof the illness of His Majesty, that we should depart from that custom for the first time, I have no doubt, in the history of this Assembly.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to move, seconded by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) that the members of this Legislative Assembly have learned with feelings of profound sorrow, of the serious illness of his Majesty the King, and are desirous of giving expression to their sentiments of affection and devotion to our gracious Sovereign; and the Hon. members of this Legislature do humbly pray that it may please the Almighty to restore His Majesty to health and strength, and that he may long be spared to give guidance to his people and the nation.

Mr. Speaker, it is, in many ways, unnecessary for me to add anything to this resolution. There is a very great cloud hanging over our Province, indeed over Canada to-day.

His Majesty represents not only our British tradition but our way of life. He represents the traditions upon which our Government is founded.

However, from a more personal sense, we refer perhaps more affectionately to His Majesty, than in the traditional way to which I have referred.

His Majesty served with many others in this Assembly -- and many others in Canada -- in the Great War of 1914-1918. As a young officer, he was present at the Battle of Jutland, and some of the other engagments. In those days, he gave unsparingly of himself.

Since those days we have formed a personal connection and affection because of the visit of himself and the Queen here.

During the troubled days of 1939 he was our King, and in those days of great peril and difficulty, we looked to him.

He was our King during the Great War, during the Battle of Britian, during the sufferings of the people of the United Kingdom and the world, in the Great War and he

(PAGE A-6 FOLLOWS)

has been the head of our commonwealth -- and I think we still refer to it as the "old empire" -- but he has been the head of our commonwealth of nations which have meant so much for peace in those years, and he has led the faith of the British people for survivial by his unselfish devotion to the democratic way of life to which we are dedicated, and now in this time of difficulty and illness, we all pray for his recovery.

It is a great honour to be associated with the Hon. Leader of the Oppostion (Mr. Jolliffe) in this motion and indeed to be associated with all the hon. members of the House.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition):

Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to add very much to what has been fittingly said by the Hon. Prime Minister.

On this occasion, and on this matter, the House -- and I am sure the people of Ontario -- are united. We should, however, like to emphasize that in expressing our thoughts in this way to-day, and in placing this resolution before the House, we are not doing so in any formal or perfunctory way. We take this occasion as an opportunity, regrettable though it may be, to pay tribute to the King not only in his

official capacity, but as a man, for his long record of faithful devotion to duty, a duty which has become more and more exacting with the years, and for the conscientous way in which he has always performed that duty, in a manner so appropriate to everything that might be expected of the head of a free and democratic people.

MR. FARQUHAR OLIVER (Grey South): Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Leader of the Opposition in supporting this motion before the House. All of us at this time have a very deep feeling for His Majesty, and the prayers and the hopes of all of us are blended that he may be renewed in strength and in health to carry on the great duties and the heavy responsibilities which are attached to that office. We would, in this corner, be associated with all in the House, in making this an unanimous feeling on the part of all of us, that health may again come to his Majesty at the present time.

MR. A. A. MacCLOUD:(Bellwoods): Mr. Speaker, we, too, desire to be associated with the sentiments so feelingly expressed by the Hon. Prime Minister and by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition.

I am sure that all of us were encouraged to

to hear at the noon-hour to-day that the most recent word from Buckingham Palane, where the King lies ill, offers some assurance for his early recovery, and we join with all other hon. member in the House in our desire to be associated with the resolution and express the hope that by the time this session ends, we may have yet fuller assurance that His Majesty will recover from his serious illness .

(Motion agreed to; all members standing).

MR. SPEAKER: While we are standing, may I suggest we have a moment of silent prayer, each one praying in his own way for the recovery of His Majesty, the King.

ONE MOMENT'S SILENT PRAYER

MR. SPEAKER: Almighty God, the giver of life and health, by whose hands all men are created, we Thy servants humbly implore Thy mercy and goodness for the restoration and safe-keeping of our Sovereign Lord King George. Give we pray Thee to those who minister to him skill and wisowm, understanding and knowledge that if it be Thy gracious will he may be granted further service in his day and generation to the well-being of us his subjects and to the added extension of Thy wisdom among all men. Give him patience in

his suffering, faith in his trial and a happy issue out of all his affliction and this we beg through Jesus Christ our Lord, the Great Physician of body and soul. Amen.

SONG: "God Save the King".

HON.WILLIAM A.GOODFELLOW (Minister of Public Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, seconded by Mr. Scott that leave be given to introduce a Bill entitled, "An Act Respecting Old-Age Assistance", and that same be now read for the first time.

Motion agreed to; first reading of the Bill.

MR.WILLIAM H. TEMPLE (High Park): Mr. Speaker, on this rather historic occasion, I am sure that the hon. members of this Assembly would be very glad indeed to have a very full explanation from the Hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) on this very important Bill.

MR. GOODFELLOW: I will be most happy to follow the suggestion by the Hon. member for High Park (Mr. Temple).

But, first, Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the House, I would like to present this second Bill which is complementary to the first.

I move, seconded by Mr. Scott, that leave be

given to introduce a bill entitled "An Act Respecting Allowances for Blind Persons", and that same be now read a first time.

Motion agreed to; first reading of the Bill.

HON. MR. GOODFELLOW: Mr. Speaker, in introducing this Legislation, I know that the Hon. Prime Minister has some comments he wishes to make following this presentation, respecting the negotiations which took place, which led up to the entering into an agreement between the Federal Government and the governments of the ten provinces, in respect to this Legislation, and other matters concerning the conference which took place.

In introducing this legislation which will grant public assistance to those persons from 65 to 69 years of age who are in need in this Province, I feel that I should make a somewhat comprehensive statement to the House tracing the development of old age security in the Province of Ontario, and also outlining the background upon which this legislation is based.

In my opinion, this is a very forward step in a program which is designed, through co-operation with the Federal Government, to bring a greater sense of security to a group of our citizens who have been or

are unable to provide adquately for themselves through their own productive efforts.

If I might be permitted the indulgence of this House, I would like to review the growth of public welfare, as it applies to our senior citizens, over the period of twenty-two years since Old-Age Pensions - as such - were first introduced into the Province of Ontario by the Ferguson administration in 1929. At that time the municipalities shared in the cost to the extent of 20% but later this was assumed by the Federal and Provincial Governments on the basis of 75-25% respectively and has continued on that basis up to the present time.

In spite of the restrictive means test which has been in effect under the existing Old-Age Pensions Act, those who have qualified for pension have increased from 60,831, as of March, 1945, to over 93,000 at the present time. This would indicate quite conclusively that due to many factors such as inflation, higher taxation, and increased cost of living, it is not possible for as large a percentage of our citizens to provide adequately for their declining years as was the case some years ago. We have reached the point in this Province where approximately 35% of all persons over 70 are qualifying for Old-Age Pensions at the

present time. In other provinces, where there are perhaps fewer opportunities for persons to acquire sufficient of this world's goods to provide for their old age, a much larger percentage qualify for old age assistance. In fact, in Canada's newest province -- Newfoundland - 86% of those over seventy are qualifying for the present Old-Age Pensions.

With the problems involved in the administration of a pension for which such a large percentage of our citizens qualify, one can only reach the conclusion that in order to dispense with the embarrassment which many of our senior citizens who had made a contribution to our economy through the years, the means test as it applied to them should be abolished, and that this country owes all persons a pension as a matter of right at an age which the Federal Government feels our economy will carry. I have expressed this view on many occasions and, further, in a brief which I presented to the Committee, which was set up to study old age security and which consisted of members of the Senate and the House of Commons, I stated that a universal pension should be paid to all citizens at a qualifying age.

Under the present Old-Age Pensions Act, thrifty persons are discriminated against. The means test is humiliating and gives the impression of charity. It deprives

the country of the productive capacities of the older age group. In these times when we need the work of our citizens it is a mistake to place a bar against their productive activity when they are still able to make a contribution to this country. Furthermore, we have thousands of senior citizens such as school teachers, clergymen, railroad and industrial employees who have Pension Funds established and others, who have laid aside savings through insurance etc. - all of whom have worked hard and have made provision for their future, and who have contributed to the provisions made for others - and who through no fault of their own, with the high cost of living and other conditions, now find their savings inadequate. Therefore, with the abolition of the means test for those over seventy, a higher degree of security will be brought to these people. Those who have effected savings will not be humiliated nor will they gain the impression that they are receiving charity. It does away with the most objectionable feature of - literally speaking -- placing a mortgage on the little homes of our aged citizens, since there will be no collections made on estates and I am pleased that this principle is being incorporated in our new Old-Age Assistance Act for the group between 65 and 69.

No one in this Province greets, with greater

satisfaction, the abolition of the means test for our senior citizens that I do, after having had the responsibility for the administration of this Act for the past six years. At one point in that period, we received in two months over 25,000 letters which required an explanation of the means test. We have had over 3,000 changes of address in a single month and the Branch has processed over 16,000 new applications in a fiscal year. In addition, we have had thousands of suspensions for overpayments, and later reinstatements, which created great administrative difficulties. Therefore, the Government of this Province welcomed the opportunity to endorse the Committee's report and their suggestion that a basic pension should be paid to every citizen over seventy years of age without a means test.

It is the intention of this Government to continue free medical services to those who are presently in receipt of pensions, and arrangements will be made through agreement with the Ontario Medical Association to provide services for those in need who are over seventy and who are not at the present time in receipt of pension as well as providing medical services for the 65 - 69 group who qualify under the new Old-Age Assistance Act.

In addition, we are conscious of the need of

better accommodation for aged persons who are unable to care for themselves, and it is our intention to continue with our Homes for the Aged program whereby - through co-operation with the municipalities -a new conception of the proper type of accommodation will be developed for those persons unable to care for themselves, who will obtain the best possible care which can be found in any jurisdiction.

Realizing, through experience, that many persons over seventy years of age require the guidance and kindly counselling service which they have received in the past through our trained Field Workers, we have indicated to the Federal Department of Welfare that our staff is at their service to assist them in the solving of any problems which persons over seventy in this Province encounter. Might I point out, as one example, that at the present time for approximately 14,000 of our pensioners it has been found necessary to have a trustee appointed to administer their pensions. This is only one example of the many ways in which our Field Workers can assist in being helpful to the Federal Department in looking after the needs of the persons who will be in receipt of universal pensions.

When we sat down with the representatives of the Government of Canada and the other provinces at

Ottawa last December to discuss these matters we were able to state without hesitation or qualification that we would co-operate with our whole heart and mind to hasten the payment of old age pensions to our needy senior citizens from 65 to 69 years of age on a 50-50 basis between the Federal and Provincial Governments.

I do not wish to infer that we were completely at one with the Federal Government and all the provinces in every detail. We would have preferred a program of pensions to disabled persons 21 years of age and over. We also maintained that pensioners in the 65-69 age group should be allowed to earn an income higher than $120. annually before sustaining a reduction in their pension, and, as a result of our representations, the allowable income was raised. On the general principle of old age assistance and old age security pensions, we gave our full support and I have no hesitation in saying that this was an important factor in clearing the way for the start of the new pension plan beginning next January first.

In conclusion, the scheme that has been evolved in an historic achievement and although it is not as broad as we originally proposed, yet, when we consider that agreement was reached between eleven governments, we must realize that certain compromises were inevitable

because of the wide exchange in the pooling of ideas and proposals.

This Old-Age Assistance Bill now before the House will bring comfort and security to thousands of our citizens between 65 and 69 especially to widows who have lost their breadwinners and persons who have infirmities which make it impossible to earn a livelihood of their own. It will relieve our municipalities of an estimated one to two million dollars by taking over those in this age group who are now on public assistance rolls.

We, as a Government, are interested in the human betterment and we see in this scheme a greater advancement toward that end. I think the case can be stated conclusively by quoting an editorial which appeared in the Windsor Star under date of May 11th;

> " Premier Leslie M. Frost stood before a London, Ontario, audience the other night and assured it that by next January 1st old age pensions at 70 without a means test, and pensions at 65 with a means test, will be available for the elderly and aged in Ontario.
>
> The Premier was entitled to a warm glow of personal pride over this great advance in social welfare. His ready co-operation in the promotion of this program, his good offices in

dealing reasonably with obstacles as they arose, had much to do with making the pension scheme possible.

His intention to proceed with the proposal for pensions at 65, with a means test, shows he intends to complete what has been begun, and as quickly as possible. Social service is not lagging in Ontario under Premier Frost's leadership."

SOME HON.MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

TAKE "B" FOLLOWS

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, might I add a word or two to what the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) has said concerning these bills and the principles behind them. I might give, sir, to the House, something of the background of these bills and their effect, which is very great.

When we consider that at present we have in Ontario about 90,000 pensioners, and that we are adding, as closely as can be estimated, 210,000 more, making a total of 300,000, we get some idea of the magnitude of these agreements which have been entered into with the Federal Government by ten other governments. I shall refer also to the financial implications of the agreement, because that is also of very great importance.

As was stated in the speech of His Honour and in the remarks of the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow), this is an historic meeting of this Assembly which in its long history has never considered measures of more far-reaching effect than those which will be passed upon here.

This is a special session convened for purposes explained in the regular session last spring and at the earliest possible moment. We are the first Legislature to legislate on the subject matters of the agreements arrived at as a result of the Federal-Provincial con-

ference of December last.

The Legislature has been convened for this special purpose and it is desirable that complete explanation should be given in order that we may proceed with second reading of the legislation tomorrow.

I shall not deal with matters covered by the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) in his very complete explanation beyond saying that what is being placed before you today is to no small extent due to the advocacy for many years of the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) of pensions without a means test and for the removal of regulations making it necessary to make claims against little estates and homes of Old Age Pensioners. The Hon. Minister's (Mr. Goodfellow) sympathetic administration of a difficult problem has met with the admiration of us all, and it must indeed be a glad day for him to introduce this legislation.

When I refer to the far-reaching effect of the legislation now being passed, consider what it means to those suffering from the high cost of living who are in receipt of pensions as clergymen, school teachers or industrial workers, and the tens of thousands who have saved up a little competence for themselves. It opens a completely new vista in connection with industrial pensions.

What we are able to do here today is as a result of a successful Federal-Provincial Conference. It is true that the pension arrangement from 65 to 69 is not altogether as we desired it. We have been interested in assistance for handicapped persons. One of the fundamentals, however, of entering into an agreement among Governments as among persons is that everybody cannot have their own way. We approached the Conference in a spirit of give and take. The other Governments did the same thing, with the result that we did arrive at an agreement. We did arrive at the form of a Constitutional Amendment. Its passage was secured by the Parliament at Westminster, and now we are here to implement the agreement.

The financial effects are, of course, enormous. Old Age Pension commitments for Federal and Provincial Governments will now total between $388 and $400 million. This amount has to be provided from the taxpayers. Our economy must have sufficient buoyancy to provide for such enormous payments without adding costs which make it impossible for our nation to do business in the markets of the world. We see the problems which have been created in this regard in other lands. We have to avoid this. As far as this Province is concerned, we are

entering into a new field, the financial implications of which will have to be determined by experience. It would appear that it will cost the Province several millions of dollars more annually which, of course, will include the medical benefits. On the other hand, it would appear that it would save our municipalities between a million and two million dollars annually. This is substantial.

I am glad to say due to the financial stability of our Province, where we impose no sales tax, no personal income tax and many of the taxes which are common elsewhere in Canada, that to bring about our end of this great reform there will be no additional taxation.

This brings me to another feature of the Federal-Provincial Conference of last December. It had been originally contemplated that this Conference should cover a much wider field than it did. Due to the Korean War and the uncertainties of the International situation the same was confined to fiscal agreements with the Provinces and the matter of Old Age Pensions. I should like to make some reference here to the fiscal arrangements.

All Governments since 1945 have learned a great deal. There is a spirit of complete frankness and good-will. Canadian problems are varied and complex because

of the great extent of our country. That suits one Province is unsatisfactory for another. The creation of this atmosphere of frankness and good-will is fundamental to dealing with the problems of Canada. If it had not been for this, this legislation could not have possibly been before you today. In the creation of this spirit may I pay a tribute to the Right Hon. Prime Minister of Canada and to all of the heads of Provincial Governments. It has been a pleasure indeed to work with them!

The attitude of the Right Hon. Mr. St. Laurent and his Ministers has not been one of take it or leave it. I can assure you that it has not been the attitude of this Government nor of the other Governments of Canada. We, as Canadians, have been endeavouring to face up to and solve our problems. The possibilities of success were never brighter than today.

I have been Treasurer of this Province since 1943 and I am glad to give you the benefit of what has been the experience of all. In 1945 we were frankly dealing with tax potentials which were extremely uncertain. We had no way of appraising the industrial growth of Canada, nor in Ontario did we have any way of appraising our growth or the effect of inflation -- where it might begin or end -- the productivity of our industries, and

many other things. At that time we set up research bodies which have rendered great service. Still I can say that in 1951 there are uncertainties which can only be solved by patience, experience and understanding.

In 1946 proposals were made by the Federal Government which were accepted by seven of the Provinces. They became effective on the 1st of April, 1947, and will expire 31st of March, 1952. In Ontario we were very loath to part with taxing powers which enabled the Province to carry on its vast undertakings with the future so full of uncertainty. At that time it was felt probable that for an initial period of five years we might attain more under a Federal agreement than we would from tax rates and occupation of those fields as is presently in effect. In 1947 with a great deal of hesitation I budgeted for $50 million from corporation taxes.

I am able to come before this House this afternoon and make a very startling statement and to tell you of something which I did not believe would have been possible when we were looking ahead in 1947. I am able to say that with an occupation of only a portion of our taxing fields and with the rates which have obtained in Succession Duties and Corporation taxes since 1947,

and with no Provincial income tax and no subvention from this source by the Federal Government, that by the 31st of March next we shall have received more money in revenues for those five years than we would have obtained had we rented these fields. In other words, from part of the fields we have occupied, we shall receive more revenue than we would have received under the agreements for the rental of everything.

In making this statement I do not cast a reflection on the Federal Government. In the light of 1947 I am sure they felt that their offer was generous. Indeed as I have said, we felt that what the Federal Government was offering for all of the fields might total more in money than what we would receive from our occupation of only a part of these fields at the rates of taxes in 1947. All of which indicates the care which must be taken in matters of this sort. We have both learned a great deal.

As the matter now stands these points stand out:

(1) Ontario has not suffered financially by remaining out of the 1946-1947 offer.

(2) We have not injured the Federal Government's position, and indeed Mr. Abbott made a very generous reference to Ontario and Quebec in his statement,

namely that these provinces had exercised their taxing powers with prudence and fairness and in a way which did not militate against the Federal position. Mr. Abbott's exact words were as follows:

> "I believe, too, that I should pay tribute to the general restraint and reasonableness shown by the two provinces which did not choose to enter into these tax agreements. In recent years, when financial demands have been extremely heavy, both provinces have in general pursued tax policies which, while conceived, of course, in the interest of the particular provinces, have not caused serious complications for the economy as a whole."

(3) Our hands are now quite free. Our powers are undiminished.

(4) There is a fine spirit of understanding and a wealth of experience which will be of great benefit to us all in future dealings.

In December, 1950, the Federal Government made proposals to all of the Provinces to be effective at the expiration of agreements presently in effect on the 31st of March, next. The new offer I am bound to say is a very substantial approach on the part of the Federal Government to meet the unquestioned problems

of the central Provinces as shown in the light of the experience of the last five years.

The unknown factors, of course, are what will be the industrial growth of Ontario in these five years. Please always remember that industrial growth brings in its train great problems -- schools, roads, concentrations of population and other things which mean great Provincial outlays.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): And Hydro.

MR. FROST: And Hydro, sir, that is right. It is doubtful if a National index can meet the situation of a Province in our position. Ponder these questions. What effect on Ontario industry will the great new additions of hydro electric energy have? And, as regards what the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) has said, what are our needs in that line going to be, and what are the demands, the pressures, the effect on our credit? What will be the effect in these spectacular years of iron ore developments which now run from Marmora on the east, and Algoma to Northwestern Ontario, and there are more of these developments to come? What will be the effect of the Seaway on our economy? These matters are very great ones indeed.

Concerning the 1950 offers, insofar as I am

aware they are still in the process of negotiation on the part of all of the Provinces. As between Ontario and the Federal Government we have been intensively considering our position. I am glad to say that there is a spirit of complete frankness and good-will. We are in a position to sit around the table either in negotiations with the Federal Government or with the other Provinces with a backlog of experience which we did not have in 1945, and consider these problems, not with a take-it-or-leave-it attitude, but with an attitude of understanding based upon this -- that no agreement in Canada is good if it isonly good for one of the Provinces or for the Federal Government. Any agreement must be fair. It must protect the interests of all. It must be a Canadian approach brought about by men of good-will. That is the attitude in which we intend to approach all dealings with other Governments and it is the attitude we have been taking, and I am able to come to you today with the fruits of this policy. We are making progress. We have arrived at agreements. The spirit of understanding that made our country possible eighty-four years ago is certainly present in the Councils of our Nation to-day.

(Take "C" follows.)

Now, Mr. Speaker, in giving that explanation of the background of this conference, the last portion of it may appear to be irrelevant in some respects, but I may say, sir, that these agreements in relation to wealth-levelling and welfare matters, and things of that sort, are tied pretty generally into the over-all financial picture.

As I have said before, we are sitting here this afternoon to deal with legislation which will cost our people in Canada $250 million dollars, and is going to increase our wealth-levelling processes, and bring them up to some $400 million dollars, which is, indeed, a tremendous thing. These things are all woven together into the same picture.

In order to carry through the immense possibilities of this country, our Government has to simplify our tax collections; indeed, we have to eliminate overlapping expenses.

I was glad to hear the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr.Goodfellow) mention the fact -- which is something I have never considered before -- that under this new law we would, through our Provincial machinery, be administering the affairs of some fourteen thousand or fifteen thousand pensioners, who would be receiving money from the Federal Government but, because, of age and

disability, it would have to be administered with the co-operation of our Government.

Mr. Speaker, these things eliminate overlapping costs, which I think is a very necessary part of sound, Federal-Provincial relationships in a country such as ours, where with the complexities of business and the development of this country, things are becoming, if anything, more complicated as time goes along.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there will be many questions asked by hon. members relating to this important legislation, no doubt. It was felt desirable to give the bills to hon. members today. I trust the bills are available, so that they may be given to the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) and the leaders of the parties, and also I hope there will be sufficient for distribution amongst the hon. members who have a particular interest in the form of the bills. If they are not ready just at this moment, I will give the undertaking that they will be ready within an hour or so, so that the hon. members may consider them, and on the consideration of these bills on second readings, there can be a discussion on the problems arising out of these bills, and I hope that the explanations which have been given will give some background to those

problems.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am not going to discuss the bill. We have all listened with great interest to the two explanations offered by the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Minister of Welfare this afternoon.

I do want to say, however, that all of us in this group are anxious to facilitate the passage of legislation such as this with the least possible delay, and perhaps the Hon. Prime Minister will be good enough to indicate whether we will go into second readings to-morrow, which I think will be quite possible, if the bills are distributed to-day.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Yes; that would be the intention to proceed to-morrow with second readings of these bills.

Mr. Speaker, I have a motion I would like to make, seconded by Mr. Doucett, as follows:

That, during the present session of the Assembly provision be made for taking of stenographic reports of debates and speeches and to that end that Mr. Speaker be authorized to employ the necessary stenographers at such rates of compensation as may be agreed to by him, copies of said stenographic reports to be supplied

to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, to Mr. Speaker, to the Clerk of the Assembly, to the Legislative Library, to each Member of the Assembly, to the offices of the Leaders of each party represented in the Assembly, to the Reference Libraries of the Province and the Press Gallery.

I may say that is the usual motion, and I hope it will not provoke any debate.

MR. JOLLIFFE: You should know it by heart, by now.

MR. FROST: I hope you will not object to these gentlemen who have been serving this afternoon, before this motion was passed.

Motion agreed to.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I have here another motion. Moved by myself, seconded by Mr. Doucett, that Mr. Patrick, the member for the electoral district of Middlesex North, be appointed as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House for the present Session.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Is the hon. member (Mr. Patrick) willing to serve?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Motion agreed to.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I have another motion, in connection with which I might give some background.

This is the fourth special Session which I recall in my day here in the Legislature. I have no recollection of previous special Sessions, although perhaps there were some, but I do not know of any, at least going back a great many years.

In these special Sessions, it has been the policy to avoid formalities, to get down to business -- if I may use that expression -- in a way somewhat different than with the ordinary sessions of the Legislature. At these special Sessions of the Legislature, there is no consideration of private bills by Committees, or anything of that nature. The business of the House is confined to a special purpose, and the course has been to dispense with the Debate on the Speech from the Throne.

The first special Session I recall was in 1937, when, after the election of that year, there was a special Session to consider certain fiscal matters arising out of the Succession Duties' Act. A motion was made at that time to dispense with the Debate on the Speech from the Throne.

That was also done at the special Session in 1939 which was convened for the purpose of considering war emergency legislation. That was subsequently true in 1945, at the special Session of that year.

As to whether or not that is desirable on this occasion, I would like to hear from the hon. members of the House, and for the purpose of placing it before the House, I move, seconded by Mr. Doucett, that for the present Session of the Legislative Assembly, this House resolve that the customary debate on the Speech from the Throne be dispensed with.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the Hon. Prime Minister would be prepared to let this motion stand over for a while so that we can discuss it, or give it a little further consideration.

I do not disagree with the Hon. Prime Minister's recollection of previous special Sessions.

On the other hand, they were all called under special circumstances, just as this one has been called under circumstances of its own, and I would hesitate to agree that any fixed practice has arisen with respect to special Sessions. It seems to me they will have to be considered on an ad hoc basis, as they arise, as what

might be entirely appropriate on one occasion, might not be so appropriate on another occasion.

As I see it at this special Session, it will be necessary to give some time and thought to the principles, and perhaps even a few of the details involved in the legislation already introduced.

On the other hand, from what little knowledge I have, I doubt if it will take a very long time. Indeed, I do not think the principles of these bills are principles in controversy in this country, but it may well be that within entirely reasonable limits of time, some attention can be and should be given to other matters, some of which the Hon. Prime Minister referred to a little earlier to-day, and some of which are very important and very timely.

I am, therefore, suggesting that the motion be allowed to stand so that hon. members to my left, and the hon. members with me, and others, can give it a little more thought.

MR. FROST: Mr. Speaker, I am quite prepared to do that. With your permission, we might let the motion stand on the Order Paper, to be taken as a notice of motion which will be made later.

I may say that I agree with much that has been

said by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe). I have no desire to take any course which would prevent the hon. members of the House speaking on these matters, and, indeed, there may be matters of public importance arise.

On the other hand, as I say, this is a special Session. We are following procedure which has been followed before, but that does not necessarily mean that because it has been done before, it is a precedent which must be followed.

I think it is fair to say that this suggestion might be considered on its merits, with respect to the situation to-day. I am satisfied to do that, and if the hon. leaders of the groups opposite would meet me following the adjournment of the House, we might consider it at that time, or perhaps to-morrow morning. I would suggest, however, that following the adjournment, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, we might meet in your Chambers to settle upon this matter.

The motion stands.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I think that is all the business before the House this afternoon, and such being the case, I would move the adjournment of the House.

The Motion agreed to; House adjourned at 4.13 p.m.

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ONTARIO

Fourth Session

of the

Twenty-Third Legislature

of the

Province of Ontario

0

Toronto, Ontario, September 24, 1951, et seq.

0

Volume II

Tuesday, September 25, 1951.

0

HON. (Rev.) M. C. DAVIES, - Speaker.

R. C. Sturgeon,
Chief Hansard Reporter
Parliament Buildings
Toronto

P R O C E E D I N G S

of the

FOURTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-THIRD LEGISLATURE, HELD IN THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER, TORONTO, ONTARIO, SEPTEMBER 24, 1951, AND SEQ.

Hon. (Rev.) M. C. Davies, Speaker,
Presiding.

- - - - - - - - - -

Toronto, Ontario.
Tuesday, September 25, 1951.
3:00 o'clock, p.m.

And the House having met.

MR. SPEAKER: Presenting Petitions.

Reading and receiving petitions.

Presenting reports by committees.

Motions.

Introduction of Bills.

Orders of the Day.

Hon. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day, I am very pleased to inform you, sir, and the hon. Members of the House, that

We have in Ontario today a very distinguished Canadian, hon. Angus L. Macdonald, Premier of Nova Scotia.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: Mr. Macdonald has kindly consented, sir, to come to the Buildings today and to visit this Assembly. He is waiting without, and if I might crave your permission, sir, I would like to bring Mr. Macdonald into this Assembly, and have him take a seat in the chair at the end of the Treasury benches, and ask him if he will kindly consent to address the Hon. members of this Assembly--of course, very informally.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: With your permission, I will retire and bring in Mr. Macdonald.

MR. SPEAKER: Granted.

Hon. Angus L. Macdonald entered the chamber and assumed a chair on the Treasury benches.

MR. FROST: Mr. Speaker, as I said a moment ago, it is a great honour to our province today to have present with us the Premier of Nova Scotia, the hon. Angus L. Macdonald, who is here today on special business in connection with the opening and dedication of the fine new Bank of Nova Scotia Building, a bank which has had associations with this province for, I think, 120 years.

A-3 follows

It is a pleasure to welcome Mr. Macdonald here, first of all, for himself. Mr. Macdonald is a well-known Canadian, one who from his earliest days has given service to his country, because he served in the first great War, and, of course, is a veteran of that struggle.

He has served both his province as one of the King's ministers, and also the people of Canada as Minister for Naval Affairs, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Macdonald, in those days when he was performing a national service, was a member for our own historic riding of Kingston.

When I spoke to Mr. Macdonald today, I told him that this assembly was usually a very friendly place, that we had not a great deal of formality here, and we wanted him to feel at home at this place.

Yesterday, in speaking to this House, I referred to the atmosphere of confidence and good will which exists in the councils of the nation in the times when the Federal-Provincial Conferences took place, and I spoke of what a pleasure it was to serve with other Canadians, and I mentioned the Right Hon. Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. St. Laurent) and the other hon. Premiers, and I should say that none qualified more for what I said yesterday than Mr. Macdonald himself.

At the conferences we have attended, including the one of last December, it has been a very great pleasure and privilege to serve with him, and be with him

as a fellow Canadian.

For himself, he is a true Maritimer; in addition, to that, sir, he is a Highlander, and a Scotsman.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: It is a very great tribute indeed, and provides very great qualifications.

I sometimes boast of my own Scottish ancestry, and it always thrills me to meet another Scotsman, and to hear the bagpipes playing, as we did this morning, in this province, where we have many of Scottish descent, and at this time we have great pleasure in welcoming here a great Scotsman.

We not only welcome him for his genial self, but I would like to welcome him here because he represents a great province, a province of which Canada is very, very proud indeed.

Our province here does not go back as an organized province anything like the period of time as does the old province of Nova Scotia. Our province dates back to 1792, when Governor Simcoe assembled the first assembly under the Constitutional Act.

The province of Nova Scotia, of course, was a settled province before those days. Its history as an organized province goes back much before that of this province of Ontario.

I would like to pay tribute to Nova Scotia and the place it has held, holds, and will always hold here in Canada.

I would like particularly to pay tribute to the fine, brave people from that province, people who have always upheld the very best and finest traditions. I may say to him that in this Assembly we, I think in common with the other provinces, hold the view that the good prosperity of Canada is something which is much to be desired, and the prosperity of Canada is dependent upon the prosperity of the provinces as a whole.

In these days, when we look forward with confidence to this great country of which we form a part, I may say, as I said this morning, in a few words, at the opening of the Bank of Nova Scotia Building, that we feel that this land of ours and its provinces are certain of success and it is a certainty, under the providence of God, as certain as the rising of the sun.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to present to this Assembly a distinguished Canadian, the Hon. Angus L. Macdonald, and ask him to -- I will not put it in a formal way and ask him to address us -- but will ask him to speak a few words to us.

Hon. A. L. MacDonald.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

HON. ANGUS L. MACDONALD, P.C., J.C., S.J.D. (Premier, the Province of Nova Scotia): Mr. Speaker, and hon. members;

I have come to Toronto and to the province of Ontario to-day primarily, as your Prime Minister has just indicated, to take part in the ceremonies connected with the new Bank of Nova Scotia Building in this city. That for me, of course, would be valid enough excuse or reason for coming here because that fine building, I think all the people in this city will agree, is an asset, and a credit, not merely to the Bank, but to the entire city of Toronto -- the Bank of Nova Scotia Building. And I am delighted, Mr. Speaker, and Mr. Prime Minister, that the traffic is not entirely one way. We are not always asking Ontario to give us some thing; we are giving you a share in that great institution, the Bank of Nova Scotia.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Here, here.

MR. MACDONALD: But, sir, apart altogether from that, the opportunity and the honour of addressing this Assembly would well justify this trip to Toronto. I am certainly deeply sensitive of that honour, and I know that the people of Nova Scotia will accept it as I do, as a sign of good will from one part of Canada to another.

There are many hon.members of this House with whom I have had the honour of personal acquaintenceship for many years. Some perhaps I have met in conference

others I have known in a personal way. Indeed, as I look across the House, I see a friend and comrade of the First World War of some thirty-five years ago. I doubt if his appearance to-day would warrant anybody in assuming he had served in that conflict. I think perhaps he may have located some of the technicalities with regard to age, but, at all events, he was there and I am glad to see him here.

Mr. Speaker, I have known, I think, all of the Prime Ministers of Ontario since the days of Mr. Henry. I met Mr. Henry in the year 1933 at a Dominion-Provincial conference in Ottawa, and I remind myself now and again with regret that of all the men who sat at that table in that year, I am the only one I think now left in active public service. Some have died; some have been retired; some have been translated to the higher realms, such as the Senate or the Bench, but of all the crowd who sat there under the Chairmanship of Right Hon. Mr. Bennett, I think I am the only one left in active public service.

And I have known the successors of Mr. Henry. I have known the present Premier of Ontario. I have sat with him at conferences, and I can say that at all times he has taken an attitude that reflects the very greatest credit on his ability, and what is perhaps even

more important, on his sense of honour and of justice.

Gentlemen, there are some people in Canada to-day who rather cry down the idea of Provincial Government and Municipal Government. Now and again I see a statement that Canada is over-governed; that we should perhaps unite the Maritime Provinces into one, or perhaps should wipe out all provincial governments and have a unitary state in this country.

Coupled with that, there is often further reference to the work that these provincial governments and civic governments undertake to carry on. We do not know what the future may bring in the way of political periods. I feel quite strongly at this moment that Canada is not yet ready for the unitary state. I think that municipal governments and provincial governments have a very important and vital task to discharge; in many cases they are much better able to discharge those tasks than would be a government situated far away, and looking into the local conditions which the provincial and municipal governments have. So that, gentlemen, I think the work you are doing in the province of Ontario as legislators, and the work that your civic authorities in Toronto and other cities are doing, is all valuable and important work, and I am glad to come here to-day for no other purpose than to wish you well.

You referred, Mr. Premier, to my association with the ancient and renowned city of Kingston. I must say, in the presence of the hon. member for that constituency sitting immediately behind me (Mr. Stewart) that nothing could be more pleasant, nothing could be more inspring than the report I received from that city. I say "support" because I have never really had to put the matter to the test, being elected by acclamation during the War. At the end of the War, I resigned my Seat there and went back to Nova Scotia, but the encouragment of the citizens of that loyal city is something I shall always cherish and treasure.

As a matter of fact, sir, I think it is a great mistake for people to think that everybody else in Canada does not like Toronto, or "hates the province of Ontario". I think a lot of that is pure "josh", and is said in a jocular and jesting way. There is no such sentiment, that I see. During the war years, when I came here on several occasions to speak to such groups as the Canadian Club, the Empire Club, the Boards of Trade, or possibly the Navy League, certainly nobody could wish for finer hospitality or a finer display of friendship than I have always experienced in this city of Toronto, and my association with this province, in Kingston, and my association with public men, all lead me to say that, and

to say it sincerely and honestly.

It has been a great pleasure to be here, sir. I can tell the people of Nova Scotia when I go back how warmly I have been received and I know that they will appreciate as deeply as I do, the honour you have done me to-day. It is a delight to be here in this Chamber on such an occasion.

SOME HON.MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR.E.B.JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition):

Mr. Speaker, perhaps you will permit me very briefly to say how grateful we are to the Hon. Premier of Nova Scotia for coming here to-day and placing himself once again under the scrutiny of the Legislature.

As has been indicated already, there is some slight connection between the old province of Nova Scotia and the province of Ontario. Indeed, not only have many of our best citizens come from Nova Scotia to this province, but a great many Ontario people, and in particular, a great many young men of Ontario came to know Nova Scotia during the war years -- during the years of both world wars -- not only as a point of departure for Europe, but also as a place upon which the naval operations in the Atlantic were based, and for a very large number of them, Nova Scotia holds interesting and pleasurable memories in their

association with the province of Nova Scotia.

I will not say any more except that on an occasion such as this, we sincerely signify to the Premier of another province that we do not feel ourselves alone; that in Ontario we entertain the warmest feelings towards other provinces, and appreciate all that they have contributed to confederation.

MR.FARQUHAR OLIVER (Grey South): Mr. Speaker, we are certainly happy to welcome our distinguished visitor to-day, particularly happy because of reasons that should be obvious to the membership of the House, but, beyond that, and speaking for this group, we welcome the Hon. Mr. Macdonald, here this afternoon, as a great Canadian and as a man who has served this country in time of war, both on the battlefields and in the Cabinet at Ottawa during the succeeding war.

I think Canadians oftentimes are inclined to under-estimate the great services that men like our guest this afternoon make to the national and provincial life of this Dominion of Canada, and this gives us an opportunity to make up for that which we have perhaps lacked in the past, and say to our friend this afternoon, that we recognize in him, in view of the great work that he has done for Canada, his right to bear the title of

a "great Canadian".

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear,hear!

MR. A. A. MacLEOD:(Bellwoods): Mr. Speaker, I can assure you it gives me very special delight to join with those who have already spoken in welcoming to this Assembly, one with whom I served in the Nova Scotia Island Brigade thirty-five years ago. That seems a very long time ago and when I look at Mr. Macdonald, I find it almost impossible to believe that our association dates back to 1916. However, it is a fact that just thirty-five years ago, we were under canvas at Aldershot, just outside of Kentville, getting ready to border the "Olympic" on which we sailed for overseas, in October, 1916.

Since that time, our paths have strayed a bit.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!

MR. MacLEOD But occasionally we do find ourselves on common ground. As a matter of fact, only a few weeks ago, we stood together in every beautiful spot down on Cape Breton Island, to celebrate the Centennial of what Mr. Macdonald called one of the great sagas of our country", and that a namesake of mine led 800 of our fellow Cape Bretoners off on a

great migration to New Zeland. We were together there joining in the great celebration at which the chief of my own Clan, Chief Flora MacLeod, was the special guest.

I may say in passing that the motto of the MacLeods is "Hold Fast". Remember that when you speak in Bellwoods on Thursday night.

HON.T. L.KENNEDY (Minister of Agriculture): You have strayed a long way since then.

MR. MACLEOD: For the reason that my friendship for Mr. Macdonald goes back many years, I take special pride in joining with those who have welcomed him here to-day. I am not sure of this -- and Major Lewis can give me the nod if I am right or wrong -- but I think I am the only Nova Scotian -- certainly I am the only Cape Bretoner -- who was ever elected to the Ontario Legislature. And I am sure that my good friend, Mr. Macdonald, is glad that at least one of our boys made it.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. MACLEOD: He no doubt would have preferred that it was a good "Grit", and as second best, perhaps he would have preferred a Tory or, failing that, he might conceivably have preferred a C.C.F'er. Perhaps I would

have been the last he would have wanted to see. But I am here, and I know he will believe me when I say that it is with a great sense of pride and satisfaction that I join with the Hon. Prime Minister, the Hon. Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. Leader of the Liberal Party in welcoming into our midst, a man who is, first, a Maritimer, a Nova Scotian, but who is also that rarest thing amongst men, a Cape Bretoner, and as such, I welcome him here to-day.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, may I have your permission to escort our guest from the Chamber and again take this opportunity of thanking him for coming here.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

Hon. Mr. Macdonald retires from the Chamber.

TAKE "B" FOLLOWS

MR. SPEAKER: Orders of the day.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Government Order Number 1.

OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: Government Order Number 1; Second Reading of Bill Number 1, "An Act Respecting Old-Age Assistance", Mr. Goodfellow.

HON. W. A. GOODFELLOW (Minister of Public Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I move second reading of Bill Number 1, "An Act Respecting Old-Age Assistance".

Mr. Speaker, yesterday at the introduction of the Bill, I made some comprehensive remarks in connection with this Bill. They may not have been as clear as they could have been; nevertheless, I do not feel at this time that I can elaborate on what I said in connection of the purposes of the Bill yesterday.

Possibly when the Bill comes before Committee, there may be questions which the hon. members of this House would like to ask in order to give them further information, and I think at that time it will serve a better purpose if I do not at this time elaborate on any particular section of the Bill, but wait until the Bill gets into Committee stage.

MISS AGNES MacPHAIL (East York): Mr. Speaker,

yesterday we heard a good deal about the recent history of these bills which are now before us, and about the Provincial and Federal Governments agreeing -- and agreeing, apparently, from the stories we hear, very well indeed. I, as well as the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow), am very happy that the age limit has been lowered, and that the means test has been eliminated. I think all of the hon. members of this House agree with what the Hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) said yesterday about his pleasure and satisfaction that we are rid of the means test, at least for those over 70 years of age.

Yesterday I thought -- although I may be wrong -- that the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) was taking a great deal of credit, as he is in the habit of doing, for his party, and throwing what was left over to the Liberals. I just did not like that, because it happens I was in the House of Commons when the first Old-Age Pension Bill was passed, and now it happens that I am here when we are making it a bit better, so there are some things about the ancient history, which I want to say.

The first time that old-age pensions was mentioned in the House of Commons was long before my time, and in the year 1906, and even before that, the Trades and Labour Congress had been advocating it within their own organization. I do not know anything

about that debate, but at any rate, it did not stick.

The first time the old-age pensions debate really assumed political significance was after Mr. J. S. Woodsworth came to the House of Commons, and he started in the first Parliament he attended -- coming there in 1921 -- to advocate, on every opportunity that was offered, the suggestion that old-age pensions be established, and during that Parliament, a Committee was set up to study the old-age pensions.

This Committee made some recommendations and one of the farmer members, Mr. Irvine, M.P. for Wetaskawin, Alberta, moved in the House that the old-age pensions should be borne entirely by the Federal Government. It was then twenty dollars a month, and every Liberal and every Conservative in the House, without any exception whatever, voted against it.

So the conversion came some time after that. It had not begun then.

We must to-day, I think, pay tribute to the countless thousands of people throughout Canada who were in favour of old-age pensions; some of them in the trade union movement; some of them entirely outside; some in public office; some not in public office at all, but they educated other people, who did not think as

they did, until it became politically expedient to bring in the old-age pension bill.

Mr. Woodsworth, on March 1st, 1923, asked the Government of the Rt.-Hon. Mackenzie King if they intended that year to bring in the old-age pensions bill, and he was replied to by Hon. Mr. Fielding, who said they had given it no consideration. So the conversion had not happened then. That was in 1923.

Mr. J. S. Woodsworth was, as you know, the founder of the Socialist Party in Canada, which is now called the "C.C.F." He was a man with great vision and absolutely selfless in his devotion to the people of Canada, particularly to those people who needed help the most.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MISS MacPHAIL: In 1925 there was an election, and nobody had a majority. The Liberals had not a majority, and the Conservatives had not a majority, but there was a group elected, the Farm and Labour Group, at that time holding the balance of power between the two -- you know, this "teeter-totter" business.

It was terrific to withstand the pressure, but it was interesting -- very interesting -- to see how far the parties would go when they wanted our support.

Of course, I have learned a long time ago, that when one wants something, and by getting it you will support a party, to keep them in power, you will get it. Maybe you will not get it at any other time, but you will get it then.

We were not interested in who was the Prime Minister of Canada; we did not care whether it was Mr. King of Mr. Meighen. In fact, Mr. Speaker, I have never been able to see any difference between the Liberals and the Conservatives.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MISS MacPHAIL: Although at the moment, I do think the Conservative leader has it "all over" the so-called Liberal leader out in the country, especially in looks, and I do not care how often he is photographed, if it will keep the other fellow's picture out of the papers.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MISS MacPHAIL: Because I am almost tempted to stop taking the Star, because of the pictures in it.

In those difficult times in the House of Commons, a Committee of five members of the Farmer-Labour Group -- of which I was one -- interviewed the then Prime Minister, Rt.-Hon. Mackenzie King, advocating

certain things, and offering him our support. We said we would give him support in return for certain things we wanted done, one of which was old-age pensions. He was quite affable under these conditions. He was really quite friendly.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MISS MacPHAIL: There is no use in going into all the ancient history. You remember how the Liberals came in for quite a time, and then Mr. Meighen became the Prime Minister. He was not very approachable, and he just thought if he was going to be the Prime Minister, he would be the Prime Minister, and bring in anything he liked, so we kept him in there about three days. But those were terrific days. It was not because we did not like Mr. Meighen, but I think his opinion about old-age pensions to-day is just as it was then; he was a most unhappy-looking man. I think his opinions now are just what they used to be. The book that he has recently sent out, entitled, "Unrevised and Unrepentant", I think shows just how he feels.

I remember one time in fairly recent years "Bill" Irvine, who wanted the Federal Government to carry the whole cost of old-age pensions at 70 or over, away back in 1925, and now we are just getting around to "Bill's" idea. He always liked Mr. Meighen

personally, because what we may think of a person politically has nothing to do with what we think of him privately. I think it was in Winnipeg that "Bill" said, "I met Arthur Meighen, and he asked me to go to lunch, and I am going", and when he came back, he said, "I can hardly believe it; but Arthur Meighen is not in favour of old-age pensions."

MR. J. B. SALSBERG (St.Andrew): Shame, shame.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods):"Unrevised and Unrepentant".

MISS MacPHAIL: After the election of 1926, things changed a little bit. It gave a majority to the liberals, and they have been able to keep it almost ever since. Oh, yes, I did want to say that the difference between the Liberals and the Conservatives, as far as I can make out, is that Federally the Liberals have been able to secure power and keep it most of the time, while Provincially, the Conservatives have done the same thing in the Province, that is, have been able to stay in power, most of the time.

When they came back in 1926, Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Heaps wrote very briefly exactly the same letter to Rt.-Hon. Mr. King and Mr. Meighen. They are both practically the same letter. The one to Mr.

King says:

"Dear Mr. King:

As representatives of labour in the House of Commons, may we ask whether it is your intention to introduce at this Session legislation with regard to (a) provision for the unemployed; and (b) old-age pensions.

We are venturing to send a similar inquiry to the Leader of the Opposition."

They must have thought it was a little daring, when they "ventured".

That letter went both to Rt.-Hon. Mr. King, and Rt-Hon. Mr. Meighen.

Rt.-Hon. Mr. Meighen replied regarding old-age pensions, and in answer to a question from Mr. Neill, Mr. Lapointe, speaking for the Government, further indicated that it was the intention of the Government to introduce at this Session, legislation with respect to old-age pensions. This letter says:

"You will observe that the statement made by Mr. Lapointe was in accordance with the intimation which I gave to Mr. Heaps and yourself, at the time of our interview, following the receipt of the communication herein referred to."

And the letter from Rt.-Hon. Mr. King to Mr. Woodsworth is framed and hangs to-day in the Federal Woodsworth House in Ottawa.

Rt.-Hon. Mr. Meighen said this -- and I am leaving out the part about unemployment --

"Dear Mr. Woodsworth:

As to old-age pensions, I stated my views to you on the date your letter was written. May I add that in a matter of this kind I would consult most carefully, and in a spirit of the utmost sympathy with labour representatives and those most interested in labour questions. Senator Robertson, for example, has given this subject more attention than any single man I know of --"

That I doubt.

"--and I would certainly receive most favourably any suggestion he would make thereon. As stated to you personally, while I feel there are other subjects demanding attention in more pressing form at the present time, I realize that this is one of importance, and will always be regarded by me as such."

Which does not mean much, but is well, -- more or less

in a friendly spirit. Still nothing was done, except at that time the Government did bring down the legislation, and did pass it, but the thing I want to stress so that nobody will ever forget it is, the Government brought it down after there had been tremendous pressure put on them, and after they had agreed in writing that if they were re-elected, they would bring down the old-age pension law.

So it was not because the Liberals at that time were in favour of it. I still remember just a year before, there were arguments against it; they put up the arguments that all the children were going to forsake their parents, and everybody would stop working because they would get a pension at 70, although they never made clear how you were going to reach 70.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MISS MacPHAIL: However, speeches like that were made by Liberal after Liberal, and by Conservative after Conservative in the House of Commons, so I cannot sit here and hear the Conservatives and the Liberals of this House take credit for the old-age pensions.

I am glad we are doing something to make it better, but that they brought it down in the first place, is just absolute nonsense. They did not. They

were not in favour of it. They would not have brought it down had they not wanted to stay in power. That is why the old-age pension bill was brought down in the first place.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MISS MacPHAIL: It was passed in the House of Commons in 1926, thrown out in the Senate, passed again by the Commons in 1927, assented to by the Senate, and signed by the Governor-General, and thus became law.

But the $20.00 at that time would be better than $40.00 now. I think that is a thing we must remember. After all, $20.00 in 1927 -- well, a dollar was a good deal of money. To-day it is a very small bit. So when they say that they have doubled the amount of money, that is far from true, particularly in an inflationary period like this. In fact, I want to say one other thing, that not only in the case of old-age pensions, but all the social legislation I have watched during the last thirty years -- and it will be thirty years on the sixth day of December when I was first elected to the House of Commons -- almost all of it has come down because a party was seeking power and made definite promises, which they kept in this case, or they were shoved into that position by a desire to stay in power. And regarding this man who is

going to do so much for Ontario, and which will cost less -- well, I do not know what will happen about that, we will have to wait and see.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MISS MacPHAIL: From now on we will go on improving the legislation little by little, but again, we will get the improvements only at the time it suits the Government because of pressure or because of a desire to attain power or stay in power, to give it.

I am quite cynical about Governments. I have watched them too long. You get out of them the very minimum they must give to stay where they are.

We in the C.C.F. are going to vote for this Bill. It represents an important step towards the goal of social justice for which some of us have been talking and fighting for the last thirty years. Of course, we will vote for it. It is our baby.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MISS MacPHAIL: But just because the old parties have wakened up late to the need which exists, and because the need has existed for many years -- just because you have taken one step toward doing something about it, I hope you will not go out and say that the millenium has come, and you brought it in yourselves. It has not

come, in the first place, and, secondly, you did not bring it in.

There are a lot of improvements to be made in old-age pensions, even if this bill is passed. I will tell you some of them. This is what the C.C.F. proposes:

> "The pension itself should be more than the miserable $40.00 per month.
>
> "We, in the C.C.F. believe we have placed our mark at $50.00 years ago, and if the cost of living keeps going up, we will have to raise that $50.00 to $60.00.
>
> "The Ontario Government should go to Ottawa and demand --

maybe "demand" is not the right word to use as between such friends as the Hon. Premier of Ontario (Mr. Frost) and the Rt.-Hon. Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. St. Laurent), but they should arrange with Ottawa so that Ottawa will pay a fair share of the basic pension.

I defy anybody in this assembly to keep themselves, provide shelter with heat in the winter, and clothing and food, on $40.00 a month. I would like to see us all have to try it for a few months. We may have to wait a long time before Ottawa acts. I mean, if we are judging it from the time when old-age pensions were

first mentioned, and when it was introduced, and when the improvements came, I think we will have to wait a long time before Ottawa acts. And hungry old people just cannot wait.

Therefore, the C.C.F. asks this Government now, at this Session, to make provision in this Bill for a ten dollars cost-of-living bonus for all pensioners from 65 to 69 years of age inclusive. I think this Government should also put pressure on Ottawa to pay at least fifty dollars a month to the old-age pensioners of 70 and over.

New legislation providing for the old age pensions will be introduced at Ottawa next month, and a few words from your Government might persuade them to raise their sights to $50.00 -- again I say since the Hon. Premier and the Rt.-Hon. Prime Minister are such good friends. They might be persuaded, especially if the Province of Ontario had already set them an example.

If Ottawa fails to act, then I think we will have to consider here seriously whether we in Ontario will still have an obligation to assist people of 70 and over who are in serious need, and they are people whose need will not be lessened, because anyone who gets $40.00 a month to live on these days certainly is in serious need.

This Government should demand that Ottawa should be more generous with this ridiculous means test for people between 65 and 69. A lot of them can do a little work, and they would be more happy and more useful if they were permitted to do a little work without interfering with their pension. We should encourage them to do as much work as they are able. Instead, however, we penalize them if they earn more than $20.00 a month. Well, you can earn twenty dollars working at some things in an afternoon.

The C.C.F. want to see the means test abolished altogether, but if we must have it, let us be reasonable about it. I think they should be permitted to have an income equal to the income tax exemption, one thousand dollars for a single person, and two thousand dollars for a married couple.

Finally -- and this is entirely the responsibility of this Government -- we should be doing a lot more for the health of the old-age pensioners than we are now doing. I was pleased to hear the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) say yesterday that medical services would be continued to needy persons over 70, but what is indicated in a recent survey, what is allotted out of the total appropriation this year, amounts to just

80 cents per month for each pensioner, if they need medical care. If they need hospital care, they have to go to the city and prove themselves paupers.

I want to see every pensioner who needs it get complete health service, medical care paid for at a decent rate, hospital care, dental care, and whatever else they need. Saskatchewan has been doing it for many years. The Liberal and Coalition Government, working together to keep the C.C.F. out of power, is doing it also. Why cannot wealthy Ontario do it? Ontario is wealthy; there is no doubt about that. We have great resources; why can we not do what British Columbia and Saskatchewan are doing? Ontario likes to strut a bit sometimes, and this is its chance.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. F. OLIVER (Grey South): Mr. Speaker, speaking for just a few moments on the second reading of this Bill, I want to assure the House that I am not going to enter into the competition as to which party is the more responsible for any progress which has been made in old-age pension legislation.

I agree with my friend the hon. member for East York (Miss McPhail) that no particular party is wholly responsible, and can claim all the credit.

Old-age pension legislation -- the improvements in it -- as, indeed, the improvements in all forms of social legislation -- come from the many interested people of our Province and our Dominion pooling their thoughts and energies together and letting the Government and the parties know what their opinions are on these particular matters. So this afternoon I think all of us, the three groups in this House --

MR. MacLEOD: The four groups.

MR. OLIVER: Well, the number of the groups in the House, can claim to having made some impression upon the Government here and at Ottawa for any improvements which have been made in the Old Age Pension Legislation.

The hon. member for East York (Miss MacPhail) mentioned that the Old-Age Pension Act in Canada came into force in 1927. If I am not mistaken, the basic rate at that time was twenty dollars per month.

There have been down through the years many improvements to the original old-age pension Act, but the present move on the part of the Dominion Government at Ottawa and the present Ontario Government here in Queen's Park, have made, in my judgment, the greatest move forward there has been made in the old-age pensions

legislation since 1927.

The old-age pensions at Ottawa came about, as the House will recall, first, through an inter-party Parliamentary Committee, which sat on this particular matter and brought in recommendations to the Government of the day as to how the Old-age Pensions Act could be improved.

The Government, to their credit, and I do think credit should be given to them -- adopted in the main or liberalized some of its features, of the recommendations of that Parliamentary Committee. They brought legislation into the Parliament of Canada and will, at the Fall Session, bring in additional legislation bearing on this great social matter.

The point I want to make this afternoon is very brief indeed, and it is to say this; that as I read the two bills, the Dominion Old-Age Pensions Bill, and the one introduced here yesterday, I think that one is complementary to the other; that is, I would say that the Ontario Bill is complementary wholly to that Dominion Bill. It follows it almost completely in its text; it follows all the forward-looking parts of the Dominion Bill, and goes all the way with the Dominion in improving the status of the elderly people in the Dominion of Canada.

When my friend the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) was speaking yesterday, I had in mind that he was sort of patting the present government on the back, and if any government needs any patting on the back by way of encouragement, it is the present group across the way. He said that at last they have rid themselves of this miserable means test. Of course, the Federal legislation provides quite specifically that the Dominion Government will, in themselves, do away with the means test; therefore, it is not to the credit of the present Government to say they are lifting from the shoulders of the people, the means test. They are simply following the design of the Act which does away with that very obnoxious thing.

MR. FROST: Were not both arrived at as a result of the agreement between the Governments?

MR. OLIVER: It came out of a Parliamentary Committee first. I will agree with my friend the Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) that there was agreement between the Provincial Governments and that of the Dominion of Canada, but I think he should be fair enough to say there were nine other provinces besides Ontario, and those nine provinces should be given full credit for the part they played in giving way, in some instances,

and for the contributions which they made to that debate, where the final outcome was arrived at.

When the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) was speaking yesterday, he said something at which I was surprised -- but that is not unusual. He said it would cost Ontario more to take care of the age-group between 65 and 69 than to pay the 25% to the over-70 group. When the Hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) speaks in winding up this debate, I think he should clarify that picture for the House, because I would be greatly surprised if that is the case, if the actual cost of pensions, excluding medical services, is going to be greater on the people of this province in that age-group of between 65 and 69, than it was when we paid the quarter-share of those over 70.

I know it was the view of the Hon. Mr. Martin, when he introduced the Bill in the House, and it is recorded in Hansard, that Hon. Mr. Martin said that it would not cost the province more to enter into the new agreement than the contributions they were making under the former one. I think the real step in this legislation is the inclusion of that group from 65 to 69. I am as happy about it as I am sure my friend the hon. member for East York (Miss MacPhail) is. I think we are all anxious, and have been for some time,

about this, and we are happy to know that how it has come about that that group of people who were the forgotten class in the years which have gone are now remembered, and that Governments, both Provincial and Federal, are at last beginning to realize their responsibility in that particular matter. There is nothing I think more pitiful than people between 65 and 70, whose earning years are passed, and who have nothing put aside for a rainy day, who have no income whatever to sustain them in this Province and in this country. I think it stands to the credit of all parties that through the pressure of public opinion, down through the years, we have been able to take this great step forward.

I say to you this afternoon, Mr. Speaker, that in my judgment there is not a greater good that a Government can do, than to move along the path of social legislation and social progress. To me it is a sign of good government if a government accepts its responsibilities in these particular matters.

This old-age pension legislation, as we have it before us, should be comparable to what is prevalent in other jurisdictions in the world. It may surpass former legislation, but I do not think it should be the last word. I agree with the hon. member for East

York (Miss MacPhail), when she spoke about the forty-dollar maximum pension, and I would go along with her in the demand that the Government canvass the possibility of paying a supplementary amount to those people now receiving forty dollars a month. It might be that in other provinces of Canada, provinces younger than we are, and not as blessed with this world's goods as we are in Ontario, that they could not see their way clear to pay beyond the forty dollars, but there is no real, genuine reason, why the Province of Ontario, fortified as they are by the boundlessness of their resources, by the energy of their people, by the amalgamated wealth of the Province of Ontario, -- why we should not be able to pay our elderly people a supplementary amount, at least until something happens to the cost of living in a way different than has been done in the last year or so.

I want to say that we are going to vote for this Bill -- for these Bills that are on the order paper, and in doing that, we are making a contribution to the people of Ontario, and of Canada, and we are helping those people in the upper-age brackets, in order that they may enjoy life a little more than they have been able to do in the past.

I want to point out that when the Hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) speaks, I wish he would say to the House just what our costs are, and how they are arrived at, because to me that is an important situation. I would be surprised if we pay more than we were paying, and if we are not paying more than we were paying, then we can pay a supplementary amount of ten dollars per month.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Mr. Speaker, I think it was very fitting indeed that the discussion on this Bill should have been initiated from this side of the House by the hon. member for East York (Miss MacPhail).

I listened with great interest to what she had to say, because it just so happens that I was a very interested and close spectator of the events she described in 1926. I remember being in Mr. Woodworth's office, together with the hon. member for East York (Miss MacPhail) and others, during those days when the fate of Governments lay in their hands, and it is a fact that back during that period, that the hon. member for East York (Miss MacPhail) and others were conscious of the hundreds of thousands of people in this country

who were committed to the old-age pensions, and who looked to that small group in Parliament to give expression to their demands for that reform.

Now, of course, Mr. Speaker, it would be wrong to use up too much of the discussion on these Bills raking up the dead and dismal past, but I must say, as I listened to my good friend, the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow), and the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) yesterday afternoon, that I did feel they were laying it on a bit thick.

MISS MacPHAIL: They did.

MR. MacLEOD: Yes, I think the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) was just a little bit syruppy, having regard to the past. For a while I thought if the C.B.C. was going to do another sketch of him for next year's series, they might very well entitle it "The Wizard of Ooze" --

MR. JOLLIFFE: How do you spell that?

MR. MacLEOD: Not the "Wizard of Oz", but the "Wizard of Ooze", because he was oozing good-will from every pregnant pore yesterday afternoon.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. MacLEOD: I could not help but contrast that good-will, which, flowing like sap, with the pages of Hansard of 1948. Just get hold of that volume

and look at those pages. Page after page, page after page of cynical interruptions from that side of the House, when we were saying some of the things the two Hon. Ministers said yesterday afternoon.

Now, of course, we cannot ignore the past. I have just one choice little morsel here, which I think should be put on the record again; a typical remark from a Tory of 1926, who has now gone to his reward, whatever that may be. This is what he said:

> "If this Bill -- the old-age pensions -- is passed, the obligations of the children to look after their fathers, mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, goes by the board. Is it judicious for us to impose upon our country such socialistic legislation as this, because it is nothing else, when there is no call for it?"

That represented the Tory point of view in 1927.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Who said that?

MR. MacLEOD: That was a man whom in later years I came to know very well. We sailed to Europe together in 1936, attending a conference in Europe, Senator E. P. Ballou. He was a Director of Bosco.

It can be said that changes take place in the Progressive-Conservative and the Liberal parties, and

we did make a beginning by establishing the old-age pensions of twenty dollars a month with a means test, Many were made inside Parliament and out, during those years to abolish the means test altogether, and bring the pension up to something like a reasonable figure.

Now, the people of this country in the midst of the war, and immediately following the war, were very determined to get rid of the means test. It was no accident, the abolition of the means test and the raising of the pensions stood out very prominently in the social securities program advanced by the Liberal Federal Government in 1945.

That was one of their proposals for immediate implementation, the abolition of the means test for all over 70 years, and the raising of the basic pension to thirty dollars, and establishing a means test pension for those between 65 and 70. I notice the Hon. Ministers do not choose to call it the "means test" any more; they call it the "eligibility test", but that kind of a test by any name smells rather bad, does it not?

There was a conference in 1945 of the provincial governments with the Federal Government to consider that program, but who was it who wrecked that conference? Who was it who scuttled that conference? What govern-

ment was it who set its face against the social security program? What government said, "Let us take the cash, and let the social security go."? That Government over there.

(Page B-28 follows)

MR. FROST (Prime Minister) I would say to the hon. member (Mr. MacLeod) that he knows better than that. Some of the provinces have not entered into any fiscal agreement with the Federal government, but that does not constitute any part of the old-age pension legislation or other social legislation. It was made clear at the last conference that those matters were entirely separate; that they were unrelated.

MR. MacLEOD: Well, Mr. Speaker, then I say that this government, then led by Mr. Drew, had no desire for an agreement with Ottawa which would make that social security program possible. Obviously, this could not be done unless it was part of the over-all agreement, and this government argued against the Dominion fiscal proposition in 1945 -- not so much on the ground that they were not going to get enough money, as I remember Mr. Drew, and the present hon. Attorney General (Mr. Porter) saying that Ontario did not want all that money, because if they had that money, there would be demands from the people to spend it, and they would rather control their revenue by going it alone. That was their line. No question about that, and while he was speaking yesterday afternoon, when he was trying to stimulate statesmanship, I could not help but ask myself why he did not make that speech in 1945?

MR. FROST: I would say to the hon. member (Mr. MacLeod) that I did, but he did not listen to me.

MR. MacLEOD: No, "George the Magnificent" went down the line with that policy. It was only after Mr. Drew was reduced to political dust in the province of Ontario that my friend the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) decided he was not going to travel that road. He figured he could get more flies with sugar than he could with vinegar. He is very adept at that. There will be a lot of Liberals voting with him, after this afternoon.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it must be said that these Bills which now give effect of law so far as this province is concerned, and the elimination of the heated means test are twenty-five years too late. Many tens of thousands of elderly people in this province and in this country, went to their graves prematurely because no adequate provision was made for them.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. FROST: And let those who governed during that period accept responsibility for that.

However, we are glad that this government, for whatever reason -- and I am prepared to admit that they have at last seen the justice of what others said many

years ago -- and it takes a Progressive-Conservative an awfully long time to learn, but they do learn -- the Leader of the Liberal group said we should give credit. I have always said that this is not the worst government has ever had in its history. I am prepared to admit that a research group, if they went back far enough, could find one that was at least slightly worse --

MR. JOLLIFFE: They would not have to go back very far.

MR. MacLEOD: They brought forward legislation in the form of these two Bills which will receive, I believe, the unanimous consent of this House. That is no issue in Ontario politics, and no group will be able to cash in on that, except for this; that the two Bills stopped far short of what they ought to be.

It is absolutely ridiculous -- it is preposterous -- that the rich province of Ontario should be paying these senior citizens less than the province of British Columbia, or the province of Alberta --

MR. JOLLIFFE: Or Saskatchewan.

MR. MacLEOD: Or the province of Saskatchewan -- there was nothing deliberate in the omission. I say that this province, headed by a Prime Minister who never grows weary of the language of expansion, who sees Ontario

expanding, expanding and expanding, and who expands so much himself when he is saying that, that you expect a hundred buttons to hit you right in the face.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!

MR. MacLEOD: I say that the man who holds the purse-strings, and has held them for the last eight years, makes the elderly people of this province accept $10. less than that paid in poorer jurisdictions.

This is not a new subject with us. We have raised it many times. We have made it the single item on which we have expressed no confidence in this government. In 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950 and 1951 I moved a motion in this House, which called upon the government to make a supplementary payment to all old-age pensioners in this province. In so moving, I was not stressing the view of my colleague and myself, but expressing as well the feeling and accepted conviction and the general views of all groups here. There was almost unanimity with us, and the only people who voted against it since 1948 were the people who sit on the government benches. It may be argued that it is allright for you to get up and express your views, but your views are not shared by the people outside.

It just happens that in the past week, knowing

this was going to be the chief matter of discussion, my colleague and I and those who support us outside, placed a modest advertisement in a half a dozen newspapers in Ontario, not as great as the advertisements you will see during the next election campaign from the Progressive-Conservatives and from the Liberal Parties, because we did not have the money for that.

We said in this ad. what we have said many times in this House, that the old people in Ontario to-day are forced to live on a poor-house budget, and we gave as proof of that, the minimum budget worked out by the Toronto Welfare Council, a very conservative organization, an organization which, as far as I know, has nobody connected with it, who could be called "radical".

They estimated that a seventy-five year old pensioner in the city of Toronto was receiving at the time this budget was drawn up nearly $20. less per month than the minimum required to maintain something approximating a decent living. I have given that break-down on many occasions. I will not burden the House with a repetition of those figures, but what do we find? After the ad. appeared in a few newspapers in the city of Toronto, we have been inundated with letters and signed petitions from all over the province of Ontario, from your town, London, from Kitchener, from Owen Sound, from Windsor,

from Hamilton, yes, and from Ottawa,

AN hon. MEMBER: And Carleton Place?

MR. MacLEOD: Yes, and Carleton Place.

MR. MILLARD: Any from Lindsay?

MR. MacLEOD: The Lindsay paper was so small that we thought if we put an ad. into it, they could not get anything else in the paper.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!

MR. MacLEOD: Yesterday and to-day we received no less than 600 pieces of mail -- not just signatures -- but pieces of mail which have come in, and they are coming in at a terrific rate.

What do some of these people say about their conditions? I think we should be willing to listen to an old-age pensioner. Here (indicating) is one, for instance, from Stratford. Who is the hon. member for Stratford? Oh yes, my friend the druggist, he is not here to-day. Here is what an elderly man and his wife say:

"We are both old-age pensioners and out monthly pension is $39.75 each, or a total of $79.50 per month. Our expenses are, rent $30.00; hydro $5.00 a month, telephone $3.00

a month; newspapers and so forth, and so forth, and incidentals $2.00 a month, making a total of $40.00 for just those four items."

And then they say:

"We have less than $10.00 a week to live on and coal to buy".

That is only one, but I have scores and scores of letters from people who give a break-down of their living costs.

Here (indicating) is a very interesting letter from Owen Sound, and I would ask the hon. members of the House to listen. This is not addressed to only the hon. member for St.Andrews (Mr. Salsberg) and myself, but to every hon. member in this House, who has taken a stand for more adequate old-age pensions.

My colleague reminds me that one letter, while supporting, and most enthusiastically supporting our proposal, ended with a postscript saying "Our kindest regards to Mr. Frost". I am glad to pass that on now.

This letter says:

"I was so pleased when I read in the paper about giving the old people $60. a month. I am eighty-nine years of age, and have been getting the pension since 1948. I have my own

little home, but I cannot live alone in the winter, and I have to give all my pension for my board, and I do not have anything for medicine and little treats of any kind.

I am thankful for what I get and I know God will bless you for your kind thought for our old people.

May God bless you and give you health and strength to carry on your work. Why should those who have an abundance take from those who need it?"

That is something to conjure over.

I really would like my friend the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) to take this file of letters and signed petitions home to Lindsay over the week-end and read some of them, and he would realize that there are tens of thousands of old people in the province of Ontario to-day who are destitute. You cannot live on $40. a month. I will go further and say that any government, whether Federal or Provincial, which takes the position that $40. a month is enough for the senior citizens of this province, is saying in so many words that they do not want the aged people of Ontario to live at all.

I must say that I am shocked when I hear people say, in discussing the plight of the old people, "Well, you know the pity of it is, modern science is now interfering with the old people's friend, pneumonia. Pneumonia used to carry them off but now there is penicillin, and that cheats the grim reaper". I have heard that said, just like that.

In taking my seat, I appeal to my hon. friend, the Treasurer (Mr. Frost) not to dodge the issue, but to face up to the fact that he, as Provincial Treasurer of the Province of Ontario, has had surpluses in the vicinity of twenty million to twenty-five million dollars for the last eight years. The province of Ontario is in wonderful shape financially, bursting at the seams with money. No government in the history of Ontario has ever secured money easier than the present government, and no government in the history of Ontario has had less to do with getting money. They have been like Mathew, with a seat in the Customs, raking it in.

Secondly, I want to remind my friend, the hon. Treasurer (Mr. Frost) that he has it in his power to impose an additional 3% corporation profits tax in the province of Ontario. That is not too hard, to hit big businesses, who have the money, the greedy, and not take it from the needy. They are only paying 7% now. He

talked very glowingly about the hedge against inflation. But that is not high enough. The bulls of inflation can take it. It is not high enough. Put it up. Take away another thirty million dollars from those boys, and use that money to provide the $10. supplementary payment.

Lastly, when will you consider collecting the seventeen million, five hundred thousand dollars that you are allowing to flow into the coffers of Douglas Abbott? No wonder Mr. Abbott has fine words to say about the Provincial Treasurer of Ontario. Who would not say kind words about a man who was giving him seventeen million, five hundred thousand dollars a year, which was not just by right. This government can collect that money. We passed the legislation enabling you to collect it. Even if Ottawa is not prepared to pass a legislation -- and I have no doubt the hon. member for Waterloo North (Mr. Brown) could tell us why -- the hon. Provincial Treasurer (Mr. Frost) of the Province of Ontario can collect that money if he devises a means of collecting it, and that will give him another seventeen million, five hundred thousand dollars.

With the thirty million dollars available from a 10% corporation profits tax, and the seventeen million, five hundred thousand dollars available from

5% of the personal income tax, which he can collect, to say nothing of the tremendous revenues which flow into the Treasury of the Province of Ontario, from liquor and gasoline, what possible excuse can there be for this government refusing to pay these people the $10. a month they need?

What better can this government do to influence the reactionary government at Ottawa than to set an example and say, "We will pay $10. now bringing the pension up to $50. , as they have been doing in British Columbia", and let this government ask this House to give unanimous consent to a resolution calling upon Ottawa to match that.

I disagree with my friend, the hon. member for Grey South (Mr. Oliver) who expresses the hope that this government will explore the possibility of paying that $10. supplementary. These explorers are too slow for me. I would never send them out on an exploring expedition. It would take them fifty years to make up their minds.

I would put it on this basis, that the Opposition groups in this House challenge this government to dip into its ample revenues and give the people who need that money the $10. now. Otherwise, I say that this government can be charged and should be charged with cruelty to the people whose welfare it is supposed to protect.

the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) said yesterday, "The Old-Age Assistance Bill will give comfort and security to thousands of our citizens." What a cruel jest that is. How can forty dollars a month bring comfort and security to people who, before they qualify, have to convince an inspector that they are destitute? How can they have comfort and security on forty dollars a month?

Now, the issue is squarely up to the government. They cannot plead poverty. If they refuse to provide that supplement, then I suggest that they, like Mr. Meighen, remain "Unrevised and Unrepentant".

I remember reading an article by Senator Meighen in which he put forward his position as regards social security, and in what he said he quoted from the New Testament, "Whoever shall save his life, shall lose it." Therefore, it is an un-Christian thing to accept an old-age pension.

Is that your point of view? I suggest you should do justly and love mercy. I suggest that your Government, the Government of Ontario -- Ottawa to the contrary notwithstanding -- is, in the first place, responsible for the health and welfare of the people of the Province of Ontario. It is your duty -- it is

the duty of the Government -- to see that these old-age pensioners are properly provided for. The people of this province have made it possible for you to meet these just and humane demands, and I hope, that my good, greying friend from Lindsay will stand up before this Bill is given final passage and announce to the people of Ontario that he is going to raise this to fifty dollars a month. If he does that, I do not mind if he goes out and tries to make a bit of political capital out of it, except that I know from experience that is the last thing he would ever think of doing.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. MacLEOD: But if he did, we would forgive it, and I know in the case of St. Andrews and Bellwoods, the people of our ridings would, of course, express renewed confidence in us for having been the instruments which brought the Government along to a recognition of simple justice for the people.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

(Take "C" follows)

MR. W. H. TEMPLE (High Park): May I say at the outset of my remarks that we in the official opposition believe that the abolition of the means test for pensions for those of 70 years of age and over, is a great step forward. It is a recognition of the principle, that those who have devoted the major part of their lives working and toiling to produce the wealth of the land, are entitled to secure from the state a measure of security in their declining years, and that pensions will now be paid as a measure of justice, and not as a charitable hand-out to those in need. We welcome this bill and intend to vote for it, but at the same time, we intend to urge that the amount of the pension should be larger. We are also glad to see the Government of Ontario bringing in this bill extending the benefits of pensions to those in need in the 65-69 age group inclusive. We believe that this too is a forward step, and because of that fact, will support it, at the same time exercising our right to urge improvements.

The member for East York in her usual capable manner was able to give the members of the House some interesting facts in connection with the early struggles for old-age pensions in the House of Commons at Ottawa. As the member for East York (Miss MacPhail) said, this

legislation is a tribute to the late J. S. Woodsworth, the founder of the C.C.F., who pioneered in the struggle for pensions for our senior cigizens. All the people of Canada undoubtedly owe a great debt of gratitude to his efforts.

I think that all members of the House will also agree that the member for East York (Miss MacPhail), during her many years in public life, played an important part in making this legislation possible. She has at all times and on all occasions urged that the means test should be abolished, and that adequate pensions should be paid to the men and women of Canada in the days of their retirement. Miss MacPhail has been a credit to her sex, she has fittingly represented the women of Canada in the House of Commons at Ottawa, and in the Ontario Legislature, by placing human welfare before political advantage or private profit.

I would like to place before the House, some figures which were given to me by the Old-Age Pension Board of Ontario, and which are a little different from those which were given by the Prime Minister. There are at present slightly more than 93,000 men and women in receipt of the old-age pensions in the Province. It is estimated that a total of, in the neighbourhood of,

275,000 will receive the pension in January under the provisions of the new Old-Age Pensions Act. The significant fact in connection with these figures, is that more than one-third of the population of the great rich Province of Ontario, 70 years of age and over, are destitute and without means of support. Surely this fact is a striking condemnation of our economic system, when so large a percentage of our people, after a lifetime of toil, are without means of support. Surely there must be something wrong with the so-called private enterprise system when one-third of the people are in this position. All thinking people in the light of these figures must agree that a drastic overhaul of our economic system is long overdue.

While a third of our population 70 years of age and over are in great need, this does not mean that the other two-thirds are in comfortable circumstances, far from it. The actual fact is that a great majority of this group are in great need, but because they own their own home, or have accumulated some small savings or income, or perhaps they enjoy a small industrial pension, or a teacher's pension, they have been denied a pension under the means test. This group of people are the chief beneficiaries of the new legislation.

They will now receive an additional income in the form of a pension of $40.00 a month, and if they are a married couple, this will amount to $80.00 a month, and will mean the difference between hardship and suffering and modest comfort, in the declining years of their lives, and I am sure that every member of this House is glad that this is so.

The position of the 93,000 people who are now receiving the pension is not so fortunate. The fact is, that this large group of our citizens are not going to be any better off, they will not receive any benefits under the new Act, although their need is probably the greatest. It is true that they will now be permitted to supplement their pensions by earnings or income, but it is very doubtful if any of them, certainly not more than a few, will be able to do so.

The plight of this group of people is indeed tragic. $40.00 is a pitiful sum with the present high cost of living, and will not begin to provide an adequate standard of living for these fine Canadian men and women. They will continue to languish on the verge of starvation, without funds for entertainment, books or any of the many little pleasures that go to make life worth-while. Because of the campaign of the Federal Conservative Party at Ottawa in demanding the removal of price controls,

the Federal Liberal Government, weakly, and it seemed to me not too unwillingly, agreed to the demand and removed almost all price controls. As a result, the condition of our people most in need has been made immeasurably worse. Since the removal of price controls soon after the end of the war, we have witnessed the greatest orgy of profiteering by the big business corporations of this country in our history. The profits have been gained at the expense of the standard of living our old-age pensioners and all the people of Canada will have.

The soaring cost of living now means that $40.00 per month pension is not worth any more in terms of purchasing power than the original pension paid in 1927, amounting to $20.00 per month. After 25 years of Conservative and Liberal Governments in Ottawa and Queens Park, pensioners are in exactly the same position as they were in 1927. They are no better off; in fact, because of the great housing shortage and difficulty in obtaining any kind of living quarters, they are really much worse off than they were 25 years ago. One of the constant battles of the C.C.F. since it became the Official Opposition in this Legislature, in 1943, has been to secure adequate old-age pensions. To-day's

$40.00 per month pension buys less than the $28.00 per month paid in 1943 when the Conservative Government was elected to office. $40.00 to-day buys only $25.00 worth of goods as compared to 1943. The sad fact is that, after eight years of Conservative Government, the old-age pensioners are $3.00 per month worse off. The cost of living index in 1943 stood at 118; to-day it is about 190. This does not tell the whole story. Food and shelter which are the chief items in the budget of old people, have soared the most, and prices are now at record-breaking figures.

Our old-age pensioners are in a deplorable state, and I would urge the Government to press the Ottawa authorities to increase the pension to those of 70 years of age and over, to at least $50.00 per month. I have not received one word of protest from any organization or any individual against the abolition of the means test, and I am sure that the same unanimous response would greet an increase in the pension to $50.00 per month.

While it is not the responsibility of the Province to care for those 70 years of age and over, it is our responsibility and our duty to care for those in the 65-69 age group effected by this Bill. Ontario

is the oldest, the richest and the greatest Province of the Dominion; we are leading the way in extending pensions to this new group of citizens, and I would suggest that we should also lead the way by paying a supplementary allowance of $10.00 per month to the recipients of pensions in this group. In the past, this Province has lagged behind the younger and poorer Provinces of Western Canada in our treatment of our old-age pensioners. British Columbia and Alberta have been paying a supplementary pension of $10.00 per month; Saskatchewan has paid $2.50 per month, plus free hospitalization and medical services to old-age pensioners, which total amounts to more than $10.00 per month. We in Ontario have an opportunity to show leadership and generosity in our treatment of our old people who will receive pensions in the 65-69 age group. The C.C.F. has always maintained that one of the first charges of any Government should be the adequate care of the old and the weak. Our civilization will be judged by our treatment of these groups. Let us pay this $10.00 additional, which is so greatly needed. The cost will be less than $5,000,000, which is a small amount for the great rich Province of Ontario.

MR. R. A. McEWING (Wellington,North): Mr. Speaker, in rising to make some remarks regarding this very important Bill which is being introduced to the government, I do so with rather mixed feelings at the lack of action in some respects dealing with our people in the province of Ontario.

I wish, in the first place, to congratulate the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) and the government -- and also the Federal government -- for the steps they have taken in this regard. There has been a good deal said along this line by the different parties. To me, in many respcts, they express rather extreme views regarding the treatment of our elderly people. Everybody who comes to a certain age does not necessarily become a ward of the province of Ontario at all.

(Take "D" follows)

We should act in a manner that would show that we are considering the welfare of those who are unable to look after themselves. A great deal has been said about the means test and a lot of emphasis has been placed upon that word "means", which has been rather unfair, I think. After all, I think that particularly the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) and others realize that there must be some yardstick with which we measure the means of those who are deserving of special assistance. I would like at this time to suggest that when the government was introducing a bill of this kind, and also the complementary bill for pensions for the blind, that they should have introduced a bill instituting a plan of pensions for the totally incapacitated persons. I have spoken of this for some ti e and I have found that a great many people over the province have been as much interested in that as they have been in some of the other forms of advanced legislation.

We have a great many people in the province of Ontario who are deserving of all assistance and our sympathy, as much so as those to whom we are granting this pension from 65 to 69, and I again speak of those who are unable to provide for themselves. I realize that their numbers are not so large that they enter into a potential voting factor that would stir the feelings of the government or any particular group, but I think they deserve our assistance. Many people are unable to earn a living, through illness of many

kinds, through probably deformities from birth, and they have become a care in the municipality and on their families, and while it is quite correct that the municipalities can give aid to them and are doing so now, I do not see why those people should be compelled to apply through the avenues of direct relief to get such assistance. In many municipalities they hesitate to enter into that field of direct relief for physically incapicitated persons. I have found that in quite a number of cases and yet it is pitiful to see those people and to realize that they are dependent on somebody for their maintenance of life.

I again urge on the government that they should have introduced such a bill, whether the Dominion enters into it or not. It has been impressed upon this House that this province is wealthy enough and should give leadership enough to take care of those people. I do not think the cost would be so great that it would burden the government at all, and I think that it would fill a need, and that those people would appreciate the assistance that we could give them.

Again I would urge upon the government to consider this matter, to think of those people who are unable to help themselves and who can look to no other pension scheme except to apply for direct aid, which will help them at all. I think it is most unfair now that we are eliminating so many other classes and putting them on a scheme of this kind, that we ought to make some provision

for these people, and I would impress upon the House that we must in the very near future provide for those people who cannot provide for themselves, and I am sorry the government has not included them in the Bill.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. W. DENNISON (St. David): Mr. Speaker, in rising to take part in this debate this afternoon, I wish to say that I am happy to be able to support the Bill, which I think is an historic step in the province of Ontario, for this great province at long last recognizes that people grow old and, in growing old, their earnings diminish; and, secondly, it is only fair to treat those who have been able and fortunate enough to save a little money on the same basis as those who have not been so fortunate, and this Bill will do that for a group of our people.

Now we did not get this Bill before the Legislature today through apathy. This Bill is a result of a long, hard fight by those forward-looking people in this province, in the C.C.F. movement, in the old labour movement who finally by dint of hard work educating people in the two old parties to the absolute necessity for this kind of legislation. It took a lot of education and there are still people in both parties who bitterly oppose this kind of legislation. There are people who honestly do not believe in the welfare state and will oppose any move in that direction and not only do we find those people, like Senator McIlghen

in the Conservative Party and others I can name who are violently opposed to this, I think a great many of our evening newspapers across the country are violently opposed to an old age pension without the pensioner paying something towards the pension during his lifetime, but also in the Liberal Party you will find people just as violently opposed to this extension of pensions as you do in the Conservative Party. You have people like Leslie Mutch, M.P. from Winnipeg, who came down to my riding just last winter and "went to town" on the whole idea of social security. He attacked it in no uncertain terms. He said that social security was the refuge of the coward, it was beneath society to extend social security, according to Mr. Mutch. But fortunately there were Liberals --- and those, fortunately, include some of those in the House today --- who thought Mr. Mutch went "Mutch" too far.

SOME hon.MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. DENNISON: It was too much for them. And so they supported this legislation.

Now the hon. Minister of Health (Mr. Phillips) speaking last September, a year ago, expressed his opinion that he thought $40. a month was "a sin and a shame", and with that we on this side agree. I would like to join with those who have urged on the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) the necessity of increasing this pension. The Federal bill on which our legislation is based, Bill No. 395, which was passed in the Federal House this last June, was preceded by a study by a

joint committee of the House which issued a report on the 28th day of June. They recommended a number of things which should be done as well as pass the bill. Although the hon. Mr. Martin gives the impression every opportunity he has that this bill meets the recommendations of that group, that just is not so; this group recommended that the 20-year residence rule be reduced to 15 years. It recommended that the provinces --- I do not know why they did not recommend the Federal Government --- but that the province do something about housing for those old age pensioners, and they said that this housing need was one of the most urgent needs. I would like to read, in that connection, from a memo sent by the Reverend T. F. Summerhayes of Toronto to various social service councils across Canada, in which he says the following:

> "After paying, say, $6.50 a week ($28.50 a month) for a room in which to sleep, cook and live, how can a pensioner live on about $12. a month, or $5¢ a day? Of course it can't be done; is it any wonder that many of them, especially those who are crippled or unmarried (and thus without families to assist them) are slowly dying on their feet. This is not merely rhetoric; it is a fact. The new Dominion pension, equivalent nominally to that previously given by the provinces, takes no account of the large rise in the cost of living

since the Dominion Government first announced its intention to take over this pension from the provinces, some of which were already considering arrangements to alleviate the hardship."

HON. G. H. DUNBAR (Minister of Municipal Affairs): Are you not making a mistake there? Is that not "crippled and married", it is not "crippled or married", as you say?

MR. DENNISON: No, "or".

MR. DUNBAR: Oh, it is? By gosh, there's no difference if he is married or crippled.

MR. R. A. McEWING: (Wellington North): Pardon me, what is that word?

AN hon.MEMBER: What are you going to do about it, George?

MR. DENNISON: Now the problem put before us by the Rev. Mr. Summerhayes is exactly the problem faced by the old age pensioners living in Regent Park. In Regent Park the old age pensioner pays $29. a month out of his $40. pension, and has $11. left to live on. It just cannot be done, and I think this government should recognize the impossibility and should do something in regard to looking at their responsibilities in the matter of housing. The hon. Minister of Lands and Forests (Mr. Scott) is here. He of course is the largest lumberman in Ontario today, he has a lumber yard at North Bay and through his hands have passed at

least 166 billion feet of lumber. This province has spent over $9 million to grubstake a horde of private lumbermen up there to take these logs out. We are in the position to provide lumber for a great many old people's houses from our own lumber yard in the province of Ontario. Why the hon. Minister of Lands and Forests (Mr. Scott), who has succeeded in salvaging only 14 per cent of the burnt-over area in the Mississaga-Chapleau district, has so stubbornly refused to put some of this lumber on the market for a little lower price for low-cost housing or for the building of hospitals or for the building of bungalows, cottages and rows of houses, for those old people, I am at a loss to understand.

HON. DANA PORTER (Attorney General): Just sounds like Walter Thompson to me.

AN hon. MEMBER: Not that bad.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. DENNISON: I want to dissociate myself with any suggestion that Walter Thompson is supporting that particular position. What Walter Thompson is suggesting, I understand, is that we force the pulp companies to export less raw pulp and use that lumber for houses. Well, I know as well as the hon. Attorney-General (Mr. Porter) knows that the export of raw pulp has been going on in Ontario ever since Mr. Walter Thompson's party took office in 1934, and his party when in office did

not stop the ---

MR. PORTER: It is nice to have his policies so concisely interpreted.

MR. DENNISON: That is true.

MR. PORTER: We never had that before.

MR. DENNISON: And so I say as far as making Ontario lumber available for low-cost housing for old people's bungalows, Mr. Thompson is just as guilty as the hon. Minister of Lands and Forests (Mr. Scott) --- just as guilty --- and I say that housing is one scheme we must provide for these people.

And in discussing housing, I wonder where are those $5,800. houses the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) gave us by headlines two years ago. In huge headlines two years ago, the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) suggested that Ontario was going to embark at last on a low-cost housing program, he had the plans, he had the assurance that it was practical, he was going to build houses to sell for $5,800. with no down payment. Well, we got the headlines, Mr. Speaker, but we are still waiting for the housing.

We are not going to get houses by headlines any more than we are going to solve the problems of our aged people and their housing needs by headlines.

MR. DUNBAR: If you point your finger like Walter's, it is more effective.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. F. R. OLIVER (Grey, South): You will soon know how effective that is.

MR. DUNBAR: We have heard that old story for a long time.

MR. OLIVER: You are getting closer every day. You are getting close to the last round-up.

MR. DUNBAR: An awful slam at you, if he does.

MR. DENNISON: And if I may interrupt my good friend the hon. Minister of Municipal Affairs (Mr. Dunbar)Mr. Speaker, ---

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. DENNISON: I may say that he has a responsibility for housing too, because after all his department is not altogether removed from the housing picture. After all, the municipalities of this province are called upon to assist in housing and yet I notice in a phamphlet we got today from the Town of Goderich that they complain that after the hon. Minister of Municipal Affairs (Mr. Dunbar) urged them to build houses, they were going to build houses and they found they have not sufficient population, he cannot give them assistance unless they can reach a population of 4,500, and they have only 1,500.

MR. DUNBAR: Don't blame that population on me.

MR. DENNISON: That may be a responsibility of the hon. Minister of Planning and Development (Mr. Griesinger) too, but I know the hon. Minister of Municipal Affairs (Mr. Dunbar) should accept some of

that responsibility.

MR. J. B. SALSBERG (St. Andrew): Drew took it away from them.

MR. DENNISON: What are they going to do about health services? The hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) blandly informs us that he is going to provide health service not only to the group with which the Bill deals, the group between 65 and 69, but is also going to provide health service for the group which the bill does not deal with at all, namely, the group over 70. I fail to see where the legislation before us will permit him to provide health services for the group over 70. I would like him to read that bill again and he will find that he has precluded himself, he has taken away any authority he may have had to provide health services for those over 70 in that very bill he has before us this afternoon.

The joint committee at Ottawa dealing with this whole question recommended that health services should be encouraged and further developed. They said any lessening of the burden on the provinces by providing income security for the aged may enable them to develop adequate hospital and medical care facilities for this section of the population.

Now the hon. Premier (Mr. Frost) said that he will not have to levy any more taxes, but I put it that he is going to save some money by this bill we have before us this afternoon. He may save a million dollars,

he may save a million and a half. Let us devote that million or one and a half million to better health services, because I say that our health services to old people are deplorably lacking in everything genuine health service should include.

Let us deal with the health service we are going to hand out so genersouly to those people over 70 for which we have no authorization as yet in the bill. We give the Ontario Medical Association $83. per pensioner per month --- 83 cents, pardon me, I want to make a correction there.

MR. OLIVER: Very generous indeed.

MR. DENNISON: 83 cents per pensioner per month. And the Medical Association processes that and pays it out to the general practitioners of the province in proportion to the amount of service they give. In the case of most doctors it works out at about .72 cents per patient per month, that is about what the doctor gets out of it. If he makes several calls in a month he still gets .72 cents; the next month if he has no calls at all, he does not get anything, he just gets paid for the month he works, they are very strict as far as that is concerned.

Now, there are 95,000 cases over 70 and a good proportion of those will be entitled to that great health service, and the 40,000 cases under 70 will also be entitled to that 83 cents a month to the Ontario Medical Association. Last year we paid the Association $829,526.

to provide this service. The doctor, before he can collect that .72 cents, has to fill out quite a form, giving the name and the address and the serial number of the pensioner --- every pensioner has a serial number --- he has to give his diagnosis of the disease or the trouble, he has to make a record of his calls and he has to keep all those records in apple-pie order until the end of the month, and at the end of the month he has to spend 2, 3, 4, 5 hours making out his monthly report. And what happens if he has special cases? I know a case in my riding where a doctor has given an injection once a week to a patient. He sends in his regular bill of $12. but all he gets is his $1.50 a week, that is all he gets although he asks $12. a month.

If a doctor prescribes drugs and if he is a country doctor in a rural area, he provides the drugs for the patient and the patient probably does not have to pay for them, but in the city is there anything in this .83 cents to provide drugs? Not a cent, not a cent at all, no provision at all for drugs. The doctor writes a prescription; that does not cost anything, but when the patient takes the prescription to the druggist, that is when he has to fork out in order to get it. The Welfare Department introduces the marvellous health service and they refuse to provide any amount of cash, so the pensioner has to pay it out of his remaining $12. a

month that he has over and above the average rent.

And what happens if the pensioner is transferred to the hospital? Well, the pension is also transferred to the hospital and then the poor municipality has to step in and pay $4.00 a day for an indigent patient only. The province provides $2.35 a day for all ward patients which of course includes the indigent, a total of $6.35 a day which in the large cities does not cover the cost, so the pensioner still has a hospital bill over his head for which there is no means of payment. And how does he pay the surgeon or the doctor who attends him in the hospital? If he has an operation, how does he pay for the cost of the operating room and so on? He hasn't a cent to pay for those. The province just hands this responsibility over to the physician and the physician has to give the service free or deny the man the service. There is no payment, there is no provision, and we are coasting along on a free, volunteered donation of service of the hospitals and surgeons and doctors of this province.

Let us compare that to what happens in Saskatchewan. In Saskatchewan, the old age pensioner gets a pretty complete service. They get complete free medical, surgical and hospital services, they get essential drugs provided. The doctor is not asked to pay for the drugs out of his own pocket and the pensioner is not expected to pay for the drugs out of what he has left after he has paid for his food and his rent and

his clothing. They get a fairly complete dental service, in Saskatchewan the government spends $1½ million a year on this service and they have one-fifth of the number of old-age pensioners we have in Ontario. And yet in Ontario, with five times the number of pensioners we pay out only $829,000., with five times the number of pensioners we only pay out half the amount, so that Saskatchewan is providing ten times as much service to their pensioners in the hospitals and when they are ill and for doctor and dental and medical services, as the wealthy province of Ontario is paying. And so I say that Ontario should use any money that is left over to increase that service and to help give a better service.

Now in regard to hospital beds, we have not enough beds in Ontario. Well, here again we are away way behind. The hon. Minister of Health (Mr. Phillips) in Ontario has been saying for years that including chronic, we need 7 beds per 1,000 population. But we are doing little better than hold our own, it takes a thousand beds a year to even keep up with the increase in population in Ontario, so that again we need to do something before we can carry out the recommendations of this joint meeting at Ottawa between the provinces, which laid down recommendations on which these old age pensions were to be based.

Take the question of cancer. Last year, again with great headlines, the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) announced a $2, million cancer centre to be established

in connection with the Wellesley Hospital. Those of us who live in that district have been looking forward to seeing the Tudor Hotel demolished and this new cancer research centre built on its cite, on Sherbourne just north of Wellesley. Yet there isn't a shovel in the ground there yet, not a brick torn down. The people are still living on that promise, and there are no outward signs yet that the province is going ahead actively and energetically toward a solution for and the cure of cancer, which takes the lives of 50 per cent of the people in a group over 65 and of which we are told 50 per cent could be cured if they were taken immediately. In Ontario, where they have to pay for their cancer treatment, most cases are six months old before the doctors see them.

The treatment and cure and solution of the cancer problem is more important to old age pensioners than any other single health problem, and I would urge the government to make all speed with the building and equiping of that cancer centre. The late Dr. B. T. McGhie, Deputy Minster of Health in Ontario, urged years ago on the Ontario government back in the days when the Liberal Party was in power in this province, that the treatment of cancer should be free, and I again urge that on the government.

Another disease affecting old people, one of the most crippling, painful diseases we have, is arthritis. What are we doing about arthritis in Ontario?

In Canada it is estimated that 650,000 people suffering from arthritis are losing 19 million days of work annually because of the terrible, crippling disease. Here is a field in which some money should be spent, and this money would benefit old age pensioners more than any other group.

I would like again to remind the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) that the present bill gives him no authority to extend these health services, such as they are. I think they are pitifully inadequate, but the bill does not give him any authority to extend these health services to the group over 70 years of age, and before we go into the discussion of this bill in the Committee of the Whole House, I would suggest that the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) go at it and extend that bill to do what he has promised to do and also to make some provision to do a better job of what he has promised to do.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. D. BAXTER (Prince Edward-Lennox): Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention or wish at this time to prolong the debate. We are pretty well all agreed that this is legislation to which we have looked forward for many years. It is two years ago in this House that I very strongly urged, as one individual member, the abolition of the means test, and I have been amazed since this legislation has been brought forward,

almost continuously over the last few months, the number of people well over 70 years of age who have come to me and have admitted that for the past several years, because of their fear of what the means test might do to them, they have refrained from applying for old age pensions and have carried on in what would amount, if we could only know the inner secrets of their lives, to abject poverty. So it seems to me that this is a very great occasion, not only in this province but in this Dominion, when we see the abolition of the means test as far as old age pensioners over 70 years of age are concerned.

Many things I had written down to say have already been said and it is not necessary whatsoever to repeat them. I have not been long enough in political life or am not sufficiently well versed in the political history or of this Dominion to argue too much, as has been done by several others, as to where the credit lies for the legislation about which we are talking today. However, I would say this, after listening to our hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) yesterday and the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) who so proudly proclaimed that it was the Conservative Party who was doing such great things for the senior citizens of our province, that if my memory serves me right, it recalls that prior to 1948 the province was paying 25 per cent of the $30 a month pension plus a $10. a month supplementary pension where the need could be proven, but

following that the Dominion government assumed 75 per cent of the $40. a month pension and the province assumed the remaining 25 per cent and in this way they were more or less relieved of $7.50 per person per month. Had they been as interested as they proclaim now in the welfare of our senior citizens, they could have at that time arranged that there was to be an additional supplementary pension over the $40. of $7.50.

I bring that up simply to keep the record straight and also to join with others who have spoken in regard to the possibility that this pension is not adequate. We know that with the cost of living as it is today and with the necessities that come to people in the latter years of their life, that $40. a month is definitely inadequate, and I only hope and I urge upon the government that they take steps in this, the richest province in the Dominion of Canada, to supplement that $40. a month pension. It seems to me that we are taking credit that is not due this province when we point out that we have been the first one to bring forth the legislation necessary to go hand in hand with Federal legislation. It stands to reason that being the wealthiest province it is only natural that this should be the first province. However, I do not think we have gone far enough and as one for whom it will be many a day before I reach that point where I will qualify for a pension at 70 and as one of those many, many millions in this province who are contributing in one way or another to this pension, I want

to stand here as a member of this group today and say that I hope the day will come just as quickly as possible when the pension will be $50. a month, because I think it is not a fair deal for the senior citizens of our province that we should ask them to subsist on a pension such as we are proudly presenting today. I only hope we can all see our way clear, regardless of party lines or anything else, to hand to those who need it an amount of money that will at least go some way toward making the twilight years of their lives a little bit easier than it otherwise would be.

Mr. Speaker, that is all I have to say at the present time. I would urge --- and I feel that it is only our due responsibility -- that further consideration be given to a $50. rather than a $40. a month pension.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. L. E. WISMER: (Riverdale): Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to prolong this debate particularly, but I could not very well let an opportunity of this sort pass. Perhaps I am the only one here who had an opportunity to present the views of a great organization to the joint committee that was set up in the House of Commons on old age security when these matters were considered over a year ago by the Parliament of Canada.

I would like to take the time to tell the House some of the reactions which I had to the Committee itself, but I can say this to the government, I think in all fairness: You are to be congratulated for bringing

in this legislation, but I do not know quite how you can take much credit for that because all you have done is go along with the Liberal Party. Your members of the committee in Ottawa I am satisfied were not in favour of the recommendations of the committee any more than our members of that committee were. They wanted something quite different, they did not want anything of the sort that can be called "old age assistance with a means test". Our members of that committee and your members of that committee I am satisfied wanted what the Labour movement wants and has been saying it wanted and what the C.C.F. group in Canada and in this Legislature have been saying for a long, long time, that the old age pension, a universal pension as of right should begin at age 65 and no means test and that it should be paid at a rate of at least $50. a month.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR.WISMER: So you are just going along with this Liberal idea of old age assistance which is as backward as the horse and buggy, has no part in a modern state and has no part in a Conservative Party policy, and you should be taking no credit for it.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD(Bellwoods): Put that in your pipe and smoke it.

MR. WISMER: So while you are taking credit for having made an agreement with the Dominion of Canada in this regard, I think I should remind you, as others have said but I have the document here, that this government

was present at a Dominion-Provincial Conference in 1945 in which the proposal was made, and I quote from the official document:

> "It is proposed that the Federal Government would establish a system of national old age pensions entirely financed and administered by the Federal Government and paid at the uniform rate of $30. per month regardless of means to men and women aged 70 and over in all parts of Canada."

1945, August. For some reason best known to themselves and utterly incomprehensible to all other people in Ontario, the Conservative party leaders of the province of Ontario decided to blow that up and to come home empty-handed. Ever since that strange decision, the honourable Treasurer of this province (Mr. Frost) who was there and who must take responsibility for that decision, has been trying to prove to the people of Ontario that it was a wise one and yesterday he continued in that process, Mr. Speaker, and he said that he had, as Treasurer, obtained more money from the people of Ontario by keeping out of such a deal with the government of Canada than he would have obtained if he had made the deal. In other words, you take credit for collecting more taxes than anybody else. This is a brand new political trick.

He said that the type of taxes which he is now imposing on Ontario act as a hedge against inflation and

that the finances of the province are strong and that he is riding out this inflationary storm successfully. I have an idea that he is telling you the truth when he says that. As a matter of fact, one of the journals of this country that supports this government has been saying some rather nasty things about "roll-your-own - Abbott", the finance Minister at Ottawa, ---

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!

MR. WISMER: --- for having rolled up such tremendous surpluses that he did not forecast when he brought his budget down last April. Well, the worst budget forecaster in the world is the hon. Treasurer of the Province of Ontario (Mr. Frost). He cannot come within ten per cent in any year, and in this terrifically inflationary year he must have a tremendous surplus already rolled up. Why does he not "come clean" and tell us how large it is? He has got it, he cannot help having it, and it is no fault of his own.

What about the 93,000 people on old age pensions in this province? Have they got a hedge against inflation? No, no, oh, no. They are on a fixed amount. It could have been better arranged in 1945 if a deal had been made with the government of Canada and all of these people put on a universal pension. That would have been a help. It would have been a lot better, Mr. Speaker, if the Tories of this country, whether they were in the Conservative Party of the Liberal Party, had decided not to "blow the lid" off prices.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. WISMER: The only people in the Dominion of Canada who have consistently asked for stability of its economy are the labour movement and the party I belong to.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. WISMER: 99 per cent of the trouble we have had, Mr. Speaker, would not exist if it were not for this foolhardy decision back in 1945 of the Tories of this country to "blow the lid off". You cannot get it back on now. You cannot get it back on by any orthodox method, because it is a completely unorthodox statement.

AN hon. MEMBER: They cannot even find the lid.

MR. WISMER: There is no lid which fits, no orthodox lid. Now, strangely enough, five years later the Parliament of Canada decided to set up a committee, a committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, to enquire into this matter of old age pensions. Without saying how they got around to that point of view, I think it is rather interesting to read out the recommendations, the main recommendation of that Committee:

> "A universal pay-as-you-go program applicable to all persons 70 years and over based on the contributory principle, administered by the Federal Government; the benefit should be a flat, uniform amount of $40. a month for all eligible persons, and eligibility should be based solely on age and a suitable residence qualification."

The same words, five years later. By the difference of $30. to $40. a month --- and by the way, if you want to do the arithmetic you will find that the purchasing power of $30. in August, 1945 was just a little more than was $40. in June, 1950. So we had made absolutely no progress, and will the Tories of this country appreciate that they were the stumbling block to progress, and the only stumbling block to this wonderful program? The record speaks for itself.

And so today, what is the situation? You are asking us to go along, and there is no alternative. We want these people to have assistance. If we cannot have what they should have, then we will take this half loaf you are offering at the behest of the Liberal Party.

The value of the pension when you came into office was, in dollars, $28., in purchasing power, $23. Today the purchasing power of the pension you are offering in this old age Act is $40., worth $20. --- all you have succeeded in doing in all your years of office is wearing down the value of the old age pension by $3. a month. That is all you have succeeded in doing.

I see the hon. Treasurer (Mr. Frost) is back in his seat. He has a hedge against inflation. 93,000 old age pensioners have no hedge against inflation. At whose mercy are we now? In this process he tells us that he will not have to ask for any additional

taxing powers, he does not need to tax us any more. [illegible], How far do you go in this thing, how far do you test our patience? If you are going to do something which costs less money, why should you have to raise any more taxes? Everyone has known, all the estimates that have been made for years would indicate that the province would be financially better off to get out of the present old age pensions and into this new assistance program. The only people who seem not to have noticed that are in the Treasurey Department when they produced that speech for yesterday. You have worn down the position of the old age pensioner and you are doing no more for him under the old age assistance program. You are giving him a purchasing power of $20., that is all, and you are giving him no hedge against inflation of the type you have, Mr. Treasurer (Mr. Frost).

Now how about dividing up a little? [illegible], Give the old age assistance people, people who will be coming off the unemployment relief rolls of the municipalities, and these people who will come in on this assistance program. These are the sort of people who are going to get it. You have a hedge against inflation in your corporation taxes and why ---

HON. LESLIE L. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, may I just say ---

MR. WISMER: Let me tell you the story.

AN hon. MEMBER: He did not interrupt you.

MR. FROST: I would like to ask my hon. friend (Mr. Wismer) this question. I know an old school teacher who is receiving $1100. in pension. Under this arrangement that man and his wife will receive $960. more. Do you not think that is a hedge against inflation?

MR. WISMER: But not under the old age assistance Act.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Not under this Act.

MR. WISMER: Not under your legislation. That is under the Federal legislation you are talking about. Let us keep this clear; there are two sets of legislation. There are going to be pensioners for whom, so far as we are concerned today, there is not a piece of legislation before us. We are hopeful that the government in Ottawa is going to introduce that next month, when Parliament meets.

AN hon. MEMBER: Hoping they will increase it.

MR. WISMER: And we are hoping they will get it up to something adequate like $50. a month. But we are here concerned with something completely different, we are here concerned with something brand new in this country. And there is no school teacher I know of who is going to get anything under this Act, and certainly nobody getting $1100. This is for people who are in trouble, who are destitute, that is what it is for. There will probably be 5,000 people come in off the municipal relief rolls as a result of this. That is

the sort of people, unemployables --- they are the people who are going to get that assistance.

TAKE "E" FOLLOWS

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In the usual way, the government tries to combine it all into one and blow it sufficiently so that they can keep the confidence of the people. That is the trick. These people have no design against inflation, unless the Hon. Treasurer of Ontario (Mr. Frost) is prepared to put a few more million dollars. There are 40,000 or 45,000 people involved --

MR. FROST: Does the hon. member (Mr. Wismer) realize that these people are getting nothing at the present time?

MR. WISMER: Now we are getting an insight into the Tory mind. That is magnanimous.

All I have to say, Mr. Speaker, on this question, is that if the government has decided that it need not tax any further for this program, I have only this suggestion, and perhaps they will go away and think it over, that they have enough in that bloated surplus they have rolled up, to face up to the idea of spending another five million dollars to give the $10. supplementary allowance to people covered by the Old-age pensions program. That is all it will cost, and they have the money.

MR. MacLEOD: What about the 93,000 people who were getting a means test?

MR. WISMER: I will say a word about the 93,000.

The labor movement and people in this group of forward looking people in this country have, for years, campaigned to have old-age pensions a sole Federal responsibility, and I would be the last man to suggest that is not the right thing to do. It would simplify the procedure, and make sure the people got their cheques every month, on a universal basis, as of right.

Certainly, $40. a month is not adequate. The Bill has not yet come down to Parliament in Ottawa; Parliament has not assembled, and we are hopeful in this opposition, that the government of Ontario and the members of the legislature, will talk to the people who are going to Ottawa, and to the government of the day and say "Think it over before you introduce this legislation, and make it $50. ". Let this Canada of ours, which is becoming one of the world's great powers because of its industrial potentials, give $50. as a minimum to people of seventy years of age or over. If they do not, there will be a new Session on this legislation, and they will look at their responsibilities differently, Mr. Speaker.

I would like to end this way; I will not talk about the history, but I would like to remind this House that the Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate was not appointed out of thin air. It

came as the result of one of the greatest and most intensive campaigns ever put on by labor for the abolition of the means test, and a tremendous public opinion rolled up in this country, which finally reached Ottawa and the ears of the government, and they finally realized they had to do something about it. They set up that Committee. There were some hostile people on it. I was before them, and I know. The more it went on, the more public opinion rolled up in favor of the abolition of the means test, but, being Liberals, they did as little as they could, but they had to come to it as a result of the tremendous labor campaign. That is one of the things coming from the forced re-action, which brought them out of their lethargy into some sort of action.

There are people in this country who think that the labor movement has no end to its demands; that if you give them something to-day, they will want something more to-morrow; that we are completely foolhardy and unwise, and particularly in asking for a safe, comprehensive, measure of social security. Over and over a finger is pointed at the organized labor movement, regardless of how many sections there may be of it, and they say "You people do not know what you are talking about; that you should ask for full social

security." We hear that all the time.

I wonder how many people have asked themselves whether they live in the group which may be called "management", or in the group which may be called the "tradespeople" or"merchants", whether in the professions or in the tremendously important group of farmers -- I wonder if these people ever ask themselves "why do the wage-earners continually ask for social security?". I wonder.

Let me suggest this to you; that they have only begun along the road of social security. The reason they have to have social security, Mr. Speaker, is because of the capitalistic and private enterprise systems. That is the reason. Success in business comes entirely from this; under-pay your help and overcharge your customers, and in that process you make money. What do you see? Some of the great economists are to-day spending a lot of time doing a great deal of research into why it is that the great middle-class of the workers is disappearing in the world. Why? Because there is nothing left for individual savings for these people. There are some hon. members here who may know what I am talking about when I say that quite a number of years ago there was a cartoon in a farm journal, showing an old man and presumably his wife, in an old wagon, with

an old horse going over the hill to the poor-house.

MR. SALSBERG: It must have been his wife. He would not take his sweetheart there.

MR. WISMER: And this was the caption on the cartoon, the old lady saying, "It is all right; at least we have always set a good table".

Similar cartoons were used by insurance companies to sell insurance, and the notation appeared, "You do not want this to happen to you". But what happens? People with insurance policies are taking that trip to the poor-house. Inflation has eaten up the savings. They were wise and thrifty, but wise and thrifty is being run off.By whom? By radicals or revolution? No. By the system which underpays his help and over-charges his customers in order to make tremendous profits to pour back to get more production, which we are now told is the only way we will save ourselves. If that is the case, that the savings of people must be drained off and made a part of corporate savings in this country to get production to save democracy, then where do we, as individuals, have our savings? In social security? Locked into the savings and investment business? And if we have to go through this long and complicated business, and not have these people paying

more taxes, let us see it in our cheques. But let us not fool ourselves. That is what they are doing, allowing the savings of the country to be drained off into the corporate savings, and then the government will have to go to the protection of the individuals with social security. There is no other process that I know of. None other has been suggested. It is a great, new and developing process of government that if you are going to get the type of industrial protection you need, then you will have to have the government stand behind you to drain off some of it, to protect the individuals. In closing, I would like to say one thing to the government. This old-age assistance program is developed as a result of an agreement between this government and the Federal government. There are other things which need not be involved here. If it is wise -- and we will agree that it is, as we will support the Bill -- to give assistance to people between the ages of sixty-five and sixty-nine, it is just as wise and important that the pensions now being paid by the Workmen's Compensation Board be raised up to $40. That is our business. It has nothing whatever to do with the Federal government, nor anyone outside of this province.

I could name other places where we could put our money, of this same type, and in the same places.

But the one thing I do ask of the government and of the hon. Provincial Treasurer (Mr. Frost) is that along with giving this $10. additional supplementary, you keep clearly in mind you are now no longer dealing in this province with old-age pensions; you are not paying any old-age pensions to anybody, after the Federal legislation goes through. You are giving assistance where the need appears. Let us look at that need with a sympathetic eye.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. J.B.SALSBERG (St.Andrew): I would like to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I understand from the information I have that there are one or two more speakers and possibly the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) will have something to say, and I would like to suggest to the House that to-morrow we proceed with the debate and finish second reading of this Bill and also second reading of Bill No. 2. I think what has been said to-day will naturally go along with the other Bill and if that be so, then we can go into Committee if we wanted to at that time. It is somewhat unusual but we are dealing with one piece of

legislation, represented in two Bills, and I think we might go ahead in that manner.

I will also say this, Mr. Speaker; in connection with the discussion we had regarding the Throne Debate; I will allow that motion to stand. It may be that to-morrow it will be desirable to allow a Committee consideration of these Bills to stand over until Thursday, in which case we might have some time, and there might be some hon. members who will want to speak on more general subjects. I have no objection to that. In that case, I would arrange to have the Throne Debate motion moved without discussion, which would permit the hon. members opposite to speak if they wanted to and we would endeavor to clear that off to-morrow, if we do not go ahead with the Committee. I simply make that as a suggestion. The hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) and the groups opposite might give that consideration in the meantime.

Mr. Speaker, I move the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; the House adjourned at 6.05 of the clock, p.m.

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ONTARIO

Fourth Session
of the
Twenty-Third Legislature
of the
Province of Ontario

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Toronto, Ontario, September 24, 1951, et seq.

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Volume III

Wednesday, September 26, 1951.

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HON. (Rev.) M. C. DAVIES, - Speaker.

R. C. Sturgeon,
Chief Hansard Reporter
Parliament Buildings
Toronto

P R O C E E D I N G S

of the

FOURTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-THIRD LEGISLATURE, HELD IN THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER, TORONTO, ONTARIO, SEPTEMBER, 24, 1951, AND SEQ.

Hon. (Rev.) M. C. Davies, Speaker,
Presiding.

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Toronto, Ontario.
Wednesday, September 26, 1951.
3;00 o'clock, p.m.

And the House having met.

Prayers.

MR. SPEAKER: Presenting Petitions.

Reading and receiving petitions.

Presenting reports by committees.

Motions.

Introduction of Bills.

Orders of the Day.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition):

Mr. Speaker, if you will permit me before the Orders of the Day are called, I wonder if I may ask a question of the hon. Prime Minister. Would it be possible for him to indicate to the House whether he has had any information from any official source regarding the Royal tour which is purported to have been postponed.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, we have been in touch with the office of the Right-hon. Prime Minister (Mr. St.Laurent) at Ottawa. As a matter of fact, I do not think the announcement which has been made can be interpreted in any other way than an indefinite postponement. That is what I read into the announcement which has been made, and I do not think it can be interpreted in any other way.

Now, sir, I am sure it is the feeling of all of us that these must be days of very deep anxiety indeed for the Princess and her husband, and we in this province -- and indeed in this country -- sympathize with her as a daughter, and with her feelings for her father, and I do not think we would want her to feel she was under any obligation at all to fulfill the whole or any part of that engagement.

I cannot imagine that the Princess would

feel happy and in a holiday frame of mind under these conditions, and I would hope that she would feel that we in this province -- and I am sure in Canada -- would want her to come over here and enjoy herself and not be filled with anxious doubts which she must have at the present time.

In answer to the question by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) I may say that the best information I can give is that this postponement should not be interpreted in any other way than an indefinite postponement.

I understand the Rt.Hon. Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. St.Laurent) will have some statement to make later, which will be made just as soon as possible.

MR. SPEAKER: Orders of the day.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Government Order No. 1.

OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: Government Order No. 1, resuming the adjourned debate on second reading of Bill No. 1, "An Act Respecting Old-age Assistance", Mr. Goodfellow.

MR. J. B. SALSBERG (St.Andrew): Mr. Speaker,

after the eloquent and very effective and unchallenge-able speeches made by hon. members of the Opposition groups, when discussing the principles of the Bill which is before us, one wonders what now could be added. One is inclined to think that perhaps a mere expression of full agreement, a sort of "amen" would suffice. And I wish that were all that were necessary. I would be very happy indeed, Mr. Speaker, if I could feel that the persuasive arguments presented by all Opposition groups yesterday have convinced the government that they must go a step farther than they indicate their readiness to go, in meeting the minimum requirement for the senior citizens of the province.

Unfortunately, though, I think it would be Utopian to expect the government to have changed its mind as a result of the arguments advanced yesterday. Therefore, another appeal to them is more than justified--in my opinion.

Mr. Speaker, I express doubts in the belief that the government would have been convinced and changed its course, because my experience with this government, ever since it came to power -- I mean the Conservative government -- is that in order to get them to move one inch forward, you have to apply bull-dozer pressure day in and day out, year in and year out, before

they are propelled further even one inch.

HON. T. L. KENNEDY (Minister of Agriculture): We are going to cure your hay-fever for you.

MR. SALSBERG: Even, Mr. Speaker, in such a matter as hay-fever, which the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Kennedy) courageously brought up now, -- because it does require courage for the hon. Minister (Mr.Kennedy) who is responsible for this misery, to bring it up when we are still suffering --

MR. KENNEDY: I am giving you hope. We will cure it for you.

MR. SALSBERG: Even in regard to such a matter, they would not move; they refused to tackle the responsibility which was theirs for cleaning out this miserable weed which disables tens of thousands of citizens during the hay-fever season, and causes loss of efficiency and time, and, of course, a lot of misery.

I sympathize with the hon. member for Glengarry (Mr. Villeneuve) whose clearer eye I cannot see,because of the effects of hay-fever. I cry about it. I sneeze. I am one of those who creates a flood of tears which fails to move this government, but the hon. member for Glengarry (Mr. Villeneuve) is not able to see things,

because of his hay-fever. There he sits in misery, unable to participate in the deliberations in this House, and the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Kennedy) has done nothing about it.

Now, having failed to devote his attention and resources to alleviating the suffering in so minor a field, despite my appeal to him year in and year out, can you expect this government to move forward in a progressive fashion -- and I mean "progressive" with a small "p" -- on the matter of old-age pensions? How can one expect that the speeches yesterday have altered their course. I do not think their course has been altered. Perhaps my contribution will prove to be the last convincing argument which will cause the hom. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) to rise in his place when I am through -- and I repeat,"when I am through" -- and announce to this House and to the people of this province that he has been convinced, that he is courageous and has changed his course; that he has seen light; that he does not doubt Old Man Ontario's wishes in this field, and that he will grant the supplementary payment for which we are all appealing.

So, in the hope of convincing the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) I am making this humble contribution.

I do not think, Mr. Speaker, that there is

any other single subject upon which I have spoken more often and at greater length since I came to this House in 1944 than on the subject of old-age pensions. And I submit, Mr. Speaker, that there is no other issue upon which the backwardness of Tory mentality and attitude is expressed more clearly than in its policy on old-age pensions.

Every advance made was made after only the most irrestible pressure brought to bear upon this government. In regard to old-age pensions, we could compile an enormous volume of quotations from Hansard limiting those quotations to remarks by the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) and other spokesmen of the government, to show how they defended the means test; how they defended the inadequacies of the pension payments, and then trace the effects of pressure on them, by their changed attitude, limited though it was -- but changed.

These were not changes brought about by their own thinking or on their own volition. They were the re-action to pressure from without, and I am now adding more pressure. I am now adding a further appeal to those made by the entire labor movement, by every social service agency in the province, by every Opposition group in the House, and by the people at large. This is,

frankly, an appeal to the government, since they are in majority, to change their outlook and accept the demands of the people. I am even prepared to shame the government into a change of course. If that will help, then I am prepared to shame them into it, because it is so vital a matter.

I am sure that every hon. member of this House goes through the ordeal, through which I go very frequently, when confronted by older citizens and am asked to explain how they could possibly live on $40. a month.

(Page A-9 follows)

There is not another question which actually hurts me more than this one. You have living persons before you. You have men and women who have given the best of which they are capable, and they sit before you and ask you, as hon. members of the legislature, to tell them how they can make ends meet, and you cannot tell them.

And the average person who comes to the average member, regardless of what Party he represents, cannot help but be moved and stirred deeply by the difficulties they see before them, when face to face with the old-age pension.

There are two groups of our population which deserve everything we can give them, and to whom we owe everything we can put aside for them. First, the children; and secondly, the aged citizens. And I suggest to you that we are not giving them that which we are capable of giving and which they require. This government must assume responsibility for that.

The government has tried to get a lot of kudos out of the Bill which is before us, and I grant they have received a great deal of very favourable publicity. This government is giving the $40. pension to those between sixty-five and sixty-nine. Now, of course, they give nothing, nothing but that which they

are almost compelled to give, and as has been pointed out by other hon. members of this House, they give it very late, when the pressure is irresistible. Why try to get kudos out of this legislation, which we forced them and other governments to bring in? It must be stated categorically, unequivically, and very clearly, that this government is responsible for starving thousands of aged citizens in this province, because no one can question the finding of responsible agencies, that no single person, especially living alone, can possibly eat enough and secure adequate shelter on $40; a month. When you deny them more than that, you are responsible for their starvation. There is no use quibbling about it. It should be labeled for what it is. And you are responsible for it, because you have no excuse for refusing the demand.

As far as this group is concerned, we demand a $60. pension, but we ask that at least this government give a $10. monthly supplemental allowance now, to prevent starvation, and you have no excuse for refusing it, because, on the one hand, you cannot question the effect of the low pension on a pensioner, and on the other hand, you cannot deny that you have more than enough money to meet this minimum need of that section of the population, which you are prepared to honour in every possible way,

except to give them enough money to be adequately fed and properly sheltered.

This government is actually sitting on bulging sacks of surplus running between twenty million and twenty-five million dollars a year, and is refusing to unloosen one bag, so that starvation may be avoided, and a minimum of comfort be gained by those who deserve it most.

The Visiting Homemakers Association of Toronto, have found, that on the basis of food prices in Toronto, in September, 1951, -- that is, this month -- the minimum cost for food for an old-age pensioner who lives by himself is $27.22 per month. And if you add that figure, the figure provided by the Toronto Welfare Council, in its study of the minimum for self-respecting requirements for the aged citizens, you will find that such a minimum budget in a city like Toronto, for an elderly person who lives alone, amounts to $62.61. And may I say in parenthesis that does not tally with the figures given by my colleague, the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) yesterday. It is a little higher. But it is higher because the Home-makers Association's figures for September were just released; in fact, I picked them up this morning from their offices, -- caused the food to rise from the figure

he gave yesterday to the figure I have given to-day.

Now, in the face of such facts, we realize that an old-age pensioner in any other large industrial centre of the province is short a minimum of $22.61 a month, or 50% of what he is getting is required by him to meet this minimum budget, and when you remember they reported a surplus of twenty million dollars, and an hon. member prophesied yesterday that the surplus this year will be even higher -- I think it was the hon. member for Riverdale (Mr. Wismer) who said that, and I agree with him -- then I say to this government that they have no excuse and no apology, and no explanation for the refusal to grant the minimum that is required, namely $10. a month supplemental allowance.

But that is not all. Speaking of "kudos"; which this government is trying to get because of this Bill, it is necessary, Mr. Speaker, to bring again to the attention of this House some facts which I presented in the Spring Session, which throws the spotlight on the record of this government in regard to old-age pensions.

In the brief which the Canadian Congress of Labor presented to the Joint Committee of the Senate in the House of Commons on old-age security about a year ago, they pointed out -- and I might say

that the brief is printed in the official record of the proceedings of that governmental committee -- that the percentage of old-age pensioners who are virtually destitute is higher in Ontario than in any other province in Canada, with the exception of Newfoundland.

In Newfoundland, a province which is perhaps among the least wealthy, the percentage of destitute pensioners is 92%, and Ontario, the richest of provinces, is next, with 81%, and that brief is careful to note -- and I am now quoting from that brief -- "the higher percentages in some provinces are due not to larger incomes of the aged, but rather to the more harsh application of the means test by some provincial authorities.

I want to remind the House of another point which I brought to your attention in the Spring, that the same brief of the Canadian Congress of Labor showed further, in cases of pensioners who live with a child, and are receiving free board and lodging, such a pensioner would be allowed until the present time, in Ontario, a maximum of $300. a year pension.

(Take "B" follows)

whereas even in Newfoundland, he would be receiving $360.00; in Nova Scotia, $420.00; in British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, $475.00; and so on. In other words, this province applied the means test far more rigidly than most provinces in the country. If that does not show a very tight squeeze by this Government, I do not know what these figures mean.

The question is not new. Last Session, in the spring, I made a rather long speech on this question, and the Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) got up and made certain statements to this House. In general, he argued that, rather than seek improvements for that section of the pensioners which suffer because of the adequacy of the allowance, he was "playing for big game"; that was his expression. He said that, if this Government did anything of the sort that I and other hon. members asked him to do, Ottawa would sit back and would not meet its obligation. I am now going to quote the Prime Minister; you will find the quotation on Page LL-1 of the Hansard for Tuesday, March 27, 1951. The Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) is quoted as saying to me:

> "Does the hon. member for St.Andrew not see the great difficulty of getting into that at the present time? Here is the

situation. If we are successful in bringing about this move with the Federal Government -- and I certainly hope that will come about within the next short time -- we are then faced with a universal old-age pension in Ontario. If you get into a supplementary system with that, it means that the Province has to set up a particular kind of machinery to meet that situation, because there is no means test, there is nothing to go on, -- "

And so on. On the following page, the Prime Minister (Hon. Mr. Frost) said something that I thought sounded a bit hopeful. He said:

"Let us stick to our knitting --"

That is not the hopeful part, Mr. Prime Minister.

"--and make that big advance; and later on --"

Here I am coming to the hopeful part.

"--when the circumstances are proper, and we have the universal pension, if a form of public assistance payable by the Provinces can be devised, then we can do that."

In other words, the Prime Minister led the House and the Province to believe that, much as he desires to see an improvement in the circumstances of the senior

citizens, he will forego doing anything for the moment, in order to get Ottawa to move into the area of universal pensions without the means test; after that will have been achieved, he will consider giving a special public assistance.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I do not like this term, "public assistance". I think that pensions should be paid as a right to every aged person. But the need for a supplemental payment is so urgent at this time in the face of galloping prices, that I would settle for whatever you will call it, so long as the pensioners get an additional income to enable them to buy sufficient food to provide themselves with shelter -- which they cannot do now under the forty-dollar payment; and I say that that statement of the Prime Minister constitutes a commitment by the Government to provide additional public assistance after the Federal Government will have instituted a universal pension scheme.

Well, Mr. Acting Speaker, the Federal Government has acted. The universal pension is coming into force. The means test has been abolished insofar as those who are 70 years and over are concerned. Now there is no question about the opportune time for the Government to act. Now is the time for the Premier to implement the promise made a year ago in this House; call it what you

like; call it supplementary allowance, call it assistance, though I hope you would not call it "assistance". When responsible bodies like the Welfare Council and the Visiting Home-makers prove to you that one requires a minimum of $62.61 a month for the poorest living standard, and you are paying only forty dollars, you can no longer delay granting the supplementary allowance without inviting the charge that you are callous towards the needs of the pensioners, and that you are responsible for starving them.

MR. REYNOLDS (Leeds): Well, well!

MR. SALSBERG: Those are harsh words, but I do not think that any other words will express what I, and I believe the majority of the citizens in this Province, feel about it.

MR. REYNOLDS: Well, well!

MR. SALSBERG: The Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) and every hon. member of the Government, and, I imagine, most hon. members supporting the Government -- I am not sure about all, but I am sure of most of them -- would like to see the supplement granted. None of them will assert that the Government cannot afford it. None of them will advance the argument that new taxation is required. The Minister said yesterday that no new taxation

is required; in fact, the surplus this year will be so large that he won't know where to bury it.

MR. REYNOLDS: Terrible!

MR. SALSBERG: No hon. member, therefore, will differ from me when I say that this additional supplementary allowance should be granted. Most hon. members, when individually face to face with pensioners in their constituencies, feel exactly as I do in now expressing my feelings, and privately, when I have finished, supporters of the Government will come over here -- as was the case in the past whenever I spoke on the problem of old-age pensions -- and say, "What you said, , is right." But when I say, "Then, why don't you get up and force your Government to act?", they look at me and smile, as if to say, "Well, you know how it is; you can't buck your own Government." But I say to the members supporting the Government, "There is no bigger issue before you upon which you should demand action from your Government than this one. There are plenty of problems that come before this House and have relative importance, but nothing is more important than this. When you go back to Carleton Place, or to Welland, or to St.Catherines, or wherever you come from, you are confronted with this question." If anyone doubts that statement, let me bring this to

your attention,--and may I ask hon. members through the Speaker, to ignore a certain grunt which comes from this direction and which refuses to stop.

MR. REYNOLDS: Right!

MR. SALSBERG: No one is responsible, not even the person that issues these grunts, therefore, don't hold it against him. Now, Mr. Speaker, if anyone doubts the feeling of the people of this Province, let me indicate what it is. My colleague, the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) showed you yesterday some of the replies received from across the Province on the demand for a ten-dollar supplemental allowance. This, Mr. Speaker, is the bundle that arrived this morning in the mailbox of the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) and myself. Some hon. members would be surprised to find how many of these letters come from their own constituencies.

MR. J. W. HANNA (Huron-Bruce) : Is there anything from Wingham?

MR. SALSBERG: We have not checked that yet, but I am sure that the voters in Wingham will read in their local paper a speech in support of this proposal, made by the hon. member representing that town (Mr. Hanna), and that speech will have been made after this Session is over. Here are the clippings -- I mean, the

coupons -- from the newspapers from St. Catherines. The Minister of Labour (Mr.Daley) seems to enjoy my speech. I am glad that he does enjoy a good speech, but I do not think he should feel so good about the attitude of the pensioners in his town. Indeed, I invite every member of the House to come, at his convenience, and meet us. We will sort out these letters and we will show each member what has come from his particular constituency. There is no doubt on this question. Just put this matter before the people in your own local paper, and you will see how many will come to your doors and how many voters will send you letters asking you to support the proposal for a ten-dollar monthly supplement to the pensioners. I do not want to take the time of the House in reading the letters before me. They are moving documents, and I would be very glad to send them to the Prime Minister (Mr. Frost), so that he may look at them, if not now, at the end of the Session. He should not merely glance at the signatures, but read the letters that certain people have written. There is no justification for any failure on the part of this Government to act in the face of such appeals. The case is established beyond doubt that the need for assistance is there. The Government has the money; then, give it to them.

Last spring I felt so keenly about this question that I suggested to the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) that he agree to meet me in a public debate in Lindsay, his home town, to which only citizens of Lindsay would come, and let the people of the Prime Minister's home town decide the issue, whether the Government can grant it, and whether the need for it exists. The Minister then said that he would be afraid to arrange it because no one would come if I were announced as a speaker -- even though he also would be a speaker. I undertook to under-write the loss, if there were any deficit, though I had a sneaking suspicion that such a meeting would really make money, and we could then donate it to some pensioner. But I repeat this invitation to the Hon. Prime Minister to-day. Mr. Speaker, you may not know it, but since I spoke in this House about my constituency of St.Andrews, and acquainted hon. members with its characteristics, many of them have become interested in the riding to such an extent that the Hon. Prime Minister is coming there to-morrow night to deliver a speech in one of the collegiate institutes. I am very glad to see that the Hon. Prime Minister is coming to my constituency to-morrow. I wish he would come there oftener and speak oftener, and I am sure that I would get more votes. But on this question I make the suggestion

that the Prime Minister agree to permit me to speak to the Conservative Convention in St.Andrews to-morrow night. I will enter the lions' den. I know it will be a hand-picked Tory convention, but even with that understanding, I ask the Prime Minister to let me enter that hall to-morrow night.

MR. ISLEY (Waterloo-South): Will you take the nomination?

MR. SALSBERG: In reply I may say that I feel alive and have no intention of committing suicide or of withering away or becoming atrophied or mummified, by becoming a Conservative. I repeat, let the Premier agree to meet me on the platform of the Conservative Party Nominating Convention to-morrow night in my constituency and give me fifteen minutes to present the record of this Government in regard to Old-Age Pensions, and to present my arguments why a supplementary allowance must be granted. I am prepared to take the consequences. I ask the Premier whether he agrees. I think it is a reasonable proposition. I know that at the moment the Premier is reading something, but, because I have the habit of keeping my eyes fixed on his rather pleasant face, I know also that he is listening to every word I say, so he has no excuse that he has not heard me. Now, Mr. Prime Minister, will

you agree to defend your policy on old-age pensions to-morrow night in my constituency, where you are billed to speak, and allow me to speak on the same platform for fifteen minutes on this question.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): I may say, Mr. Speaker, that I am going as a guest to a meeting in -- the Spadina Riding, is it? -- somewhere in that direction.

MR. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): You think it is me you are after!

AN HON. MEMBER: St. Andrew of Scotland.

MR. FROST: I am saying that, as I am going as a guest, I think the hon. member had better consult with my hosts before he makes any such proposition as that. I may say that I have never found that there was any cause for me to run away from any of the meetings that he has suggested; and when the time comes, I will be willing to meet with my friend, not only in St.Andrew's riding, but elsewhere in the Province of Ontario, on the record of this Government.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. SALSBERG: Well, the very genial Conservative Prime Minister -- and he is most genial, but he is nevertheless a Conservative Prime Minister -- has said the only thing he could say. What else could he have

said in reply to my very clear-cut request, proposal, suggestion, indication, or whatever you call it? I am sure that will take place in good time, but I wanted to make sure that this Government will not try to get kudos for something it does not deserve.

This Bill falls short of what the aged citizens of our province require. There is still time for the Government to change its course. Politically speaking, or rather, speaking in a narrow partisan sense, the Opposition groups would be better off were the Government to allow this Bill to stand without any amendment or any change, but I am sure that every member on the Opposition benches would be happier, even though the Government got some kudos out of it, if the ten dollars a month were granted, rather than to have political advantage over the Conservative Party in the next election. I say this because I believe that hon. members on this side of the House, not having their hands tied or their mouths gagged -- as is the case with the supporters of the Government on this question -- spoke from the depths of their hearts and expressed the sentiments of the members. Some members on the other side looked at me with some surprise when I said they were gagged. Well, Mr. Speaker, no one from the Government side has spoken up so far on this question.

Only the Hon. Minister of Public Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) and the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) have spoken; no one else. My sympathies go out to all the hon. gentlemen on the other side. I know how they feel. I sympathize with them. I can even understand the difficulties in which they find themselves in being unable to get up here. But I put this appeal to them: "When you get into caucus, speak up there. There will be no Press representatives or Opposition members present. Your speeches won't be reported. Tell the Government what you feel about this. I know you feel the way we do. Tell them that you agree with what we have said, because I know you do agree with us. If you do that, if you compel your Government to change its course and grant at least ten dollars a month extra to the old-age pensioners, you will have made a greater contribution to the life of this Parliament than you have been permitted to make until now in all its Sessions.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I believe that I am to be the last on this side to speak on this second reading of Bill No.1. In doing so, I have no desire to repeat any of the remarks which have already been made. There are,

however, some observations which I think ought to be brought to the attention of this House.

May I say first that I am satisfied that in a general way this Bill and the pending legislation here and in Ottawa represent a very great advance over the present system of old-age pensions in Canada and in Ontario. I say it represents a great forward step, although at the moment it does not improve by one iota the position of the neediest group of pensioners, and although there are very serious defects both in the scheme as a whole, and in the Bill now before the House. On balance, however, it is a great advance, and I am quite prepared to give all credit where any credit is due, although I think we should hesitate to extend any credit whatever to those who have throughout the years opposed this improvement, or who have at any time delayed its arrival.

On one point, at least, I want to congratulate the Government. As we were reminded yesterday, the original Old Age Pensions Act was passed by the Parliament of Canada in 1927, and the Ontario Legislature did not until 1929 take advantage of this legislation by passing a complementary Provincial act. There was a delay of two years. Ontario, then as now

with a Conservative Government, was not the first Province to enter into an agreement with the Dominion. The Minister will recall, I think, that the first Province to do so was British Columbia. But on this occasion there is no delay; and without any hesitation I congratulate the Government, and in particular the Minister, on having proceeded so expeditiously.

Having said that, Mr. Speaker, may I add that there are grave defects in the new system which must not pass unnoticed. There are defects in the scheme as a whole, that is to say, in the general scheme under which there are pensions for every person over 70 and pensions, subject to a means test, for those from 65 to 69. There are defects in the scheme as a whole.

Secondly, there are defects in this Bill, for which this Government must accept responsibility. Thirdly, there are defects in the present administration which must be drawn to the attention of the Minister as well as the House.

First, as to defects in the scheme as a whole. Here, I think, the Minister and I are in complete agreement. The major defect of the scheme as a whole is that it provides no coverage for incapacitated persons below the age of 65. It may be said

that this is another matter, that it has no part in the system of old-age security. The fact remains, and we must not forget it, that in Canada to-day the outstanding gap in our welfare measures is the lack of any assistance for people who are unable to work, whether they are under the age of 65, or from 65 to 70. Now we are remedying the situation to some degree for those who are 65 and over. We are in this scheme doing nothing for those below 65; and as we all know, a man of 59, crippled by arthritis may be in a much more needy position, a much more helpless position, than the man of 69 who is still able to work. That is a statement about which I do not think there is any room for argument.

The second great defect in the scheme as a whole is that the means test has been continued for people from 65 to 69. The Conservative Party and other parties at Ottawa opposed that principle. However, that is a defect for which the Dominion Government is primarily responsible, and I will take no further time to discuss it now.

The third major defect is that the means test itself is being applied so unsoundly. The ceiling on incomes of $720 in the case of single people and $1200 for married people is, Mr. Speaker, an absurd ceiling.

Let me point out that in this respect the legislation, for which I agree at this point the Dominion is responsible, does not implement the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. That was a Committee of members of the House of Commons, and members of the Senate, and among other things they recommended -- and there was unanimous agreement -- that the means test in respect to people from 65 to 69 should be adjusted in such a way as to recognize to a greater extent than at present the desirability of encouraging recipients to earn a supplementary income.

(Take "C" follows)

Now, that has been recognized to what extent? To the extent of $20. a month, which, of course, is no encouragement whatever for people from sixty-five to sixty-nine to go out and do useful work.

Mr. Speaker, there was a time, a few years ago, when it was considered -- and I think wrongly -- that if you could get men off the labor market, it was a good thing. I do not agree with that sentiment at all. We have grown away from that policy; we now realize that it is not desirable to encourage people to stop working and producing; it is desirable to get them to produce, and produce more. Everyone seems to be agreed on that to-day. Not only does our economy require increased production, but it is better for people in their sixties, as a rule, to have something useful to do, than to have nothing to do. I think it is increasingly realized by laymen as well as by medical men and social workers, that happiness and health are much more likely in the case of the older persons if they have something useful to do. Their interest in life is greater, and indeed, their health may be longer maintained.

It is very strange, Mr. Speaker, that we have spokesmen for the Federal Government going about the country telling the workers of Canada that they should produce more; that they should be working longer hours,

and harder, and raising the level of productivity, while at the same time, thousands are being laid off, and at the same time they pass legislation which discourages able-bodied people between sixty-five and sixty-nine from producing anything. Where is the logic in that position? The thing is absolutely absurd. It is something for which Ottawa must bear the responsibility. I will come to this government a little later.

MR. FROST: I may say that I generally agree with what the hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) has said, and we advanced this proposal at the conference in Ottawa last December.

As I have said, what has been arrived at does not by any means, meet the point of view we advanced at Ottawa.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Oh, I understand that.

MR. FROST: I find it inconsistent to have a pension -- let me put it that way -- with a means test from sixty-five to sixty-nine, and no means test after that. I quite agree it may have the tendency of taking out of the labor market very useful people. I think that is true.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Particularly, I may say, at

a time like this, Mr. Speaker. Many of these people would like to work, and there are jobs they can do just as well, and perhaps better, than the younger people. I have a constituent who is eighty-four years of age, and he is as proud as punch of the fact that he is performing a job in a war plant. Most of the jobs he could not do, but they found something he could do that was useful, and he is doing it, and he is very proud that he goes to work every morning, and is happy about the whole thing.

There must be many of that kind, who would be discouraged from working by the absurdity of this situation.

We have suggested that perhaps it is not too late for provincial governments to urge the government at Ottawa that the ceiling should be about where the income tax exemption is. That would provide more incentive for people, particularly at a time like this, to make their contribution toward production, when it is very much needed.

Now, there is a fourth defect in the general scheme which I think is a Dominion responsibility, but also, I suggest, to some extent, a provincial responsibility, as I will show later.

The Dominion legislation -- Bill 395 --

passed in June, and the companion legislation which is now before us here, does not provide any safe-guard with reference to provincial supplementals, which are paid in some provinces, and ought to be paid in some others.

I understand that under the present legislation, possibly for the sake of clarity, I should say, "Under the old scheme of things" -- such a supplemental payment as is being paid by British Columbia and by the province of Saskatchewan is permitted, but under the new scheme, it is quite clear there is no provision in the legislation before us to enable the government to provide that a provincial supplement shall not be deemed to be income for the purpose of the means test.

I might point out what an absurd result may follow in a province like British Columbia. British Columbia is paying a $10 supplement. If that is deemed to be income of the recipient, it means that the additional income in British Columbia can be only $10. a month or $120. a year. In effect, it means that everybody in that group in British Columbia will be removed entirely from production, because $10. a month will be neither here nor there.

What I wish the government would consider is to look into its own legislation here and attempt to get Ottawa's approval to the extent that any provincial

supplementary payment shall not be deemed income for the purpose of the means test.

There is another great defect which has been referred to repeatedly during this debate, and that is the rigidity of the scheme as a whole, which takes a figure of $40. a month at a time when we are undergoing inflation. The Dominion chose that figure. We think it is wrong. We believe they could be induced to increase it, if sufficient pressure were brought to bear, and I think the most effective pressure could be brought to bear by the provinces.

This again is not in substance, implementing the report of the Parliamentary Committee, because the report of the Parliamentary Committee said "$40. a month" on June 28th, 1950.

On June 28th, 1950, the cost of living index figure was 165.4. To-day it is crowding 190, and to fix a figure of $40. a month is not fixing a figure recommended by the Parliamentary Committee a year ago last June. It may be doing so in form, but not doing so in reality.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, a great defect in the scheme as a whole is the requirement as to eligibility or one of the requirements at least. Here again the Parliament of Canada did not implement the report of the

Parliamentary Committee. Let me give an example, and it will be quite clear.

The Parliamentary Committee recommended that in the case of the group between sixty-five and sixty-nine, the residential requirement should be fifteen years -- not twenty years, but fifteen years. The government of Canada saw fit to disregard the recommendation of the Committee, and required, in Bill 395, that to be eligible, the applicant must have resided in Canada for the twenty years immediately preceding the date of the application. Or if he has not so resided in Canada for twenty years, a period is required equal to twice the absences from Canada during those twenty years.

Now, I think this country has been growing up very fast, but the government at Ottawa does not realize how grown up we are.

There are to-day and previously in recent years, a great many Canadians born in this country, brought up in this country, educated in this country, and employed by institutions in this country, who have spent the latter years of their lives abraod. You would think the government at Ottawa with its embassies, legations, trade commissioners, and so forth, would realize that they have come to a point where

thousands of Canadians leave to work abroad, but undoubtedly remain Canadians, with their roots in this country.

I wonder if these wise men at Ottawa realize that the residential requirement, under section 3 of Bill 395, will make ineligible, for example, a Canadian missionary, a missionary employed by a Canadian church, who serves as a Canadian missionary in a foreign country, say, for the fifteen years prior to the retirement at sixty-five. Some of these missionaries have pension schemes of their own, I will admit. But some of them have no pension scheme. A missionary who has served from the age of fifty to sixty-five in Africa or Asia, and then comes back to retire in Canada at sixty-five will be ineligible under section 3 of Bill 395.

When things like that happen, we wonder what is the matter with the people in Ottawa. And that will be more serious in the case of the group over seventy. That legislation is not before us here, but in the case of that group, I am afraid that a substantial number of Canadians will be found ineligible, if a similar residential requirement as appears here is in the Federal Act with respect to the group over seventy, which is expected next month.

I am perfectly aware that the Deputy-

Minister of Welfare at Ottawa has written a rather bureaucratic letter assuring people that these questions will all be fixed up in the regulations; that the regulations will be arranged so that men who have worked and lived abroad will be deemed to have lived here all the time, but in order to qualify, the poor fellow will have to perjure himself by saying that while abroad he maintained a home here, which, of course, is not true.

Statements of that kind make no impression on me at all, and the next time the Minister of Welfare for Ontario is talking to the hon. Mr. Martin, I wish he would raise this question, because I do not think the Federal government has given it sufficient thought. They may think it is not necessary because the vast number of civil servants abroad will be made ineligible in any event, under Bill 395, that they undoubtedly will receive a pension..

But there are others, for whom this is not the case, and I wish the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) would keep that in mind.

Now I come to the defects in the Bill before this House, and these are the defects for which the government of Ontario must accept responsibility. I make this clear, that these defects which I am about to discuss represent decisions of the government of Ontario

embodied in this Bill, decisions which it was not necessary to take; decisions which could have been different if the government had so decided. I hope that now they will see merit in my remarks by making some changes.

In the first place, I point out that the old Act -- the present Act -- does not fix the pension at a stated figure -- under the present Act. The new Act rigidly fixes it at $40. a month. It is frozen at $40. a month. I say, Mr. Speaker, that is a backward step; that is a change for the worse from the broader system under the old Act. And I say, too, that the government did not have to do that. They could have used the formula in the old Act.

Secondly, you have now in the new Act. a very narrow definition of "assistance". The definition of "assistance" in the new Act is so precise and so narrow that you are effectively prohibiting yourselves from any relaxation in the future, if relaxation should be necessary. More perhaps can be said about that during the Committee stage, and I will not go into it further at the moment. That, too, is a backward step. You have deliberately made your definition of "assistance" so narrow that you will not have the same freedom of movement you had under the old Act.

Thirdly; the old Act provided expressly in Section 14, that the Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations, and I quote "sub-section 'c'" "providing for a cost of living or other bonus to pensioners or any class or group thereof."

That is in the old Act. That is in the Act which has been on the Statute books for a good many years, and the government of Ontario has acted under that power more than once.

Mr. Speaker, it is not in this Bill. Why? I say that is a backward step. You are deliberately hand cuffing yourselves so that if the cost of living index should reach 400 in January there is not a thing you can do about it. I think the hon. member for Grey South (Mr. Oliver) was Minister of Welfare in 1943, before the election and for some time prior to the election. I think it was about that time that we had some increase in the cost of living, nothing like we have to-day, of course. The Federal government then "came through" with a $5.00 increase in the pension and the government of which the hon. member (Mr. Oliver) was a member was able to supplement that with a $3.00 provincial bonus, bringing the total up to $28.00 a month. The hon. member (Mr. Oliver) could do that under the clause such as the one which I have read.

I think I am quite right about that. But the hon. members opposite are being, very, very careful to make certain that they cannot do what was done by the Liberal government in 1943. Why? Why take it out? Why handcuff yourselves when you cannot foresee what will happen in the next three or four months? Of course, neither can anybody else, except I may say, I expect to see the cost of living index reach 200 before the new year.

It is a surprising thing that any government can deliberately seek to tie its own hands.

Nowadays, it is the trend for governments to give themselves all the power they can in advance, and then exercise it by executive degree. But in this so-important matter, the hon. members opposite appear to be travelling in the other direction. They could not permit themselves to grant a bonus or cost of living supplement, even if they were persuaded it was the right thing to do.

While we are on that point, the hon.Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) said yesterday something which reminded me of a statement by another distinguished Conservative. He said at page A-17:

> "This old-age assistance Bill now before the House will bring comfort and security to

thousands of our citizens between sixty-five and sixty-nine, especially to widows who have lost their breadwinners, and persons who have infirmities which make it impossible for them to make a livelihood of their own".

"Comfort and security". May I say this reminds me, Mr. Speaker, of none other than the Rt.hon. Arthur Meighen, in what he said in the House of Commons on April 26th, 1926, speaking on an earlier Bill. Of course, he was speaking from a rather different point of view from my own, and, as always, he made his point very well.

Mr. Meighen said this, and he was saying it, of course, with reference to a Bill which provided for a bonus of $20. a month, at a time when the cost of living index was about half or less what it is now.

He said:

"No; and anyway, if we provided a larger amount -- although I am not arguing for it -- there would be some hope of taking the old people out of the poor-house and putting them in their homes. But when we confine it to this proposition, it is pure hypocrisy on our part to throw out the signal to the

aged people of Canada that the shadow of the poor-house is no more about them and that we are going to keep them comfortably in their homes. Can the hon. member for North Winnipeg suggest any way on earth by which an old person can live on $250. a year."

That sounds rather like the hon. member who preceded me in this debate, but the point is perfectly valid, and when we say that $40. a month will enable the people to live in comfort and security it is, as Mr Meighen put it, "hypocrisy".

Now then, the fourth serious defect in this Bill is that there is no provision in it for health services for those over seventy. There is a mystery there which perhaps the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) will clear up when he speaks later in this debate.

The hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) said yesterday:

"It is the intention of this government to continue free medical services to those who are presently in receipt of pensions, and arrangements will be made through agreement with the Ontario Medical Association to provide services to those in need who are over seventy

and who are not at the present time in receipt of pensions, as well as providing medical services for the 65-69 group who qualify under the new Old-age Assistance Act."

This bill refers to people from sixty-five to sixty-nine; it has no reference to people over seventy, except that it repeals the present Act.

After December 31st, the government will have no legislative authority whatever to provide medical services, or any other kind of services, to people over seventy years. I think there has been a slip in the legislative workshop somewhere which should be corrected.

I do not want to object to a provision that the government may continue every necessary service to the people over seventy. But how do they know they will not be called upon to do something for which they have no legislative authority? I hope that the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow), even if he has not heard what I have been saying, probably suspects what is coming. I think he should make clear where his legislative authority is for continuing medical services after January 1st -- or counselling service or any other kind of service in this Bill, in which you are repealing the present Act as of December 31st. We will

be very glad to hear from the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) as to whether he has been able to find any legislative authority.

In any event, surely the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) will be fair enough to agree that the present service is a mere gesture; that the service on which the government is planning to spend a little more than .80¢ a month, can hardly be described, in reality, as "medical services for pensioners", or "health services" of any real kind, and certainly it is not to be spoken of in the same breath as what British Columbia is doing and what Saskatchewan is doing for the old-age pensioners who, for some time, have been provided medical services, drugs, and hospitalization at cost; and the cost, as the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) well knows, is very much greater than 80¢ a month. It is more like $7.00 or $8.00 a month, if we add it all up, and it is not the same at all as the hon. Minister said yesterday when he said they were continuing medical services to people in this position.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I said a little while ago that the Minister and the government have deliberately chosen to make it impossible for them to pay a cost of living bonus, if they ever become convinced it is necessary,

and they desire to do it. And I ask the question, "Why?".

There is another question I would like to ask the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) to answer when he rises in his place. It has been asked before, but I will ask it again. The hon. Minister will not deny that British Columbia is a province with great growth and expansion. British Columbia has for some time, been paying a supplemental $10. a month to old-age pensioners and I venture to predict they will continue to do so after their legislature meets on the 22nd of October. I venture to say that supplement will not be cut off.

If British Columbia can do that, why not Ontario?

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. JOLLIFFE: And I challenge the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) to rise in this House, like a man, like the "good fellow" which I believe him to be, and say why Ontario cannot do it, when British Columbia can do it, and undoubtedly will continue to do it?

Before I conclude, Mr. Speaker, I must draw to the attention of the House, and the hon.

Minister, some defects in administration which seem to me very serious. In saying this, I concede, as I think all hon. members do, that the hon. Minister himself is a conscientous and humane man; he has tried to do a good job as a Minister of the Crown. Having said that, I put to him this question. How will you register approximately 43,000 people aged between sixty-five and sixty-nine years in the last three months of 1951, apply means tests, and conduct investigations, Should this job have not been started a little sooner? Assuming that there are approximately 100 investigators available, -- and I am questioning whether they are all available, because they have other duties, and they cannot be entirely devoted to this one thing during the next two or three months. But assuming they are available, how is the Minister going to investigate 43,000 applications in October, November and December -- in about 60 working days, even if he has the full-time service of about 100 investigators? That means that each investigator will have to make and complete seven investigations a day, and some of them will be called on to do it in places like Bruce County, Manitoulin Island, or the District of Cochrane, and perhaps some of them even in the County of Victoria, or the District of Haliburton, and if they can do seven a day in the district of Haliburton, in the second week

of December, they are pretty hardy investigators.

This is serious, I suggest. Perhaps it may be a good reason for having an election and getting it over with, before the chickens come home to roost.

I suggest to the hon. Minister that he will be in real trouble in January, February and March, unless some miracle is accomplished, because a great many who have applied for the new pension will not know whether they are getting it or not, and will not receive their cheques. I suggest to the hon. Minister quite seriously -- and this is not said by way of carping criticism, because I think the Minister has a real problem on his hands, and is probably worried about it -- but I suggest, that if you are unable to finish the processing of the applications, the least you can do when you are able to complete them, is to make the payments retroactive to the 1st of January. I admit that is not too satisfactory to people who hoped to get them in January, but if you cannot get the job done in time, then I urge upon the Minister, that payments be made retroactive to the first of the year.

MR. FROST: We are the first government of Canada to pass this legislation.

MR. JOLLIFFE: That is right. I am very

objective about these things. The hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) just now reminded us, as I have told the House, that there has been no delay in this legislation; that Ontario is the first province to call the legislature together to pass this legislation. That is right. That is objective.

But, unfortunately, there is another side to the story. Ontario is not the first government to receive applications.

MR. FROST: We are receiving applications right along.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Do you make investigations?

MR. GOODFELLOW: Oh, yes.

MR. JOLLIFFE: This has been going on since the 1st of September?

MR. GOODFELLOW: Yes.

MR. JOLLIFFE: And I say that even there, you must yield primacy to British Columbia, and even the Federal government issued these yellow sheets through the post-office. They steered clear of provincial agencies and they got the post-office into the social welfare by handing out these yellow sheets sometime ago, inviting the people, sixty-nine and one-

half years of age or more to file their applications.

MR. FROST: I may say to the hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) that we were as much concerned as anybody with the proof of age. That is a very great problem.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I am just coming to that.

MR. FROST: We took that matter in hand six weeks ago, and made provision for people to fill out the forms, and enabled the census records to be consulted.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I appreciate that.

I will say just a word about the proof of age. The Dominion issued these yellow forms, and here again I must register another complaint about the bureaucratic method adopted. I think they say that people of seventy and over are entitled to $40. a month under the Old-age Security Act of 1951. I think even for a civil service, that is going a bit far. I think the wording could have been more accurate and more discreet, because the fact is there is no Old-age Security Act of 1951. It has not passed the Canadian Parliament; it has not received assent; it has not been through third reading; it has not been through second reading; it has not been introduced, and my own suspicion is that it has not yet been written.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!

MR. JOLLIFFE: So these yellow forms distributed by the thousands through the post-office were written with a somewhat academic or poetic license, which I will discuss later with hon. Mr. Martin.

I am not quarreling with the premature distribution of these forms, although they might have been worded better. It could have been done better had it been earlier, so that the applications could have been processed by the end of the year.

(Take "D" follows)

I want to add that I think that the Vital Statistics Branch, under great pressure, and great difficulty, has been doing about as well as anybody could expect. They have had a flood of applications, and I must say that I think that they deserve credit for getting them out as rapidly as they have at a time of great emergency.

One more point, Mr. Speaker, with reference to the cost of pensions under this Bill. I must say that I agree with the Hon. the Leader of the Liberal Party in this House (Mr. Oliver); I do not see how pensions under this Bill could possibly cost the Government as much as pensions are costing the Government now. In the first place, as a matter of simple arithmetic, you have now on pension 93,000 people, and you expect 43,000 under this Bill. In other words you are going to double your contribution, that is, from 25 to 50 percent, in respect of less than half the number of people, for 43,000 is considerably less than half of 93,000. Unless my arithmetic is all wrong there is only one answer to that.

Secondly, to be specific about it, the estimates for 1950-51 which the Minister presented put the cost of pensions for the year at $10,200,000. That was under the old scheme of things. If you take 43,000 people

and assume that all of them get forty dollars a month -- which, of course, is an extravagant assumption -- but assume that every one of them qualify for it -- your cost will be $10,320,000, or $120,000 more than your estimate for last year. Of course it will be less than that, for obviously some of them will not get forty dollars a month; for some of them the allowance will be reduced by reason of other income and other earnings. But there is another saving. The Minister said that as a result of this measure the municipalities are going to be relieved of costs with respect to the unemployed which will amount to $1,000,000 to $2,000,000 a year. The Minister is paying the same amount as the municipalities for the costs of the unemployed, so the saving to him is also between one and two million dollars a year. So according to his own figures we have a saving here of at least a million dollars, and that will reduce the figure to $9,320,000, which is well below the present cost for which the Minister is responsible.

Could it be, or have I an unduly suspicious mind, that the Minister's unwillingness to concede that he is saving money on this deal is due to a reluctance to grant a cost of living supplement? I think we might well have an answer to that question.

Mr. Speaker, I hope I have not detained the House

too long. May I say in conclusion that, like other hon. members who have spoken before me, I consider it an honour and a privilege to be able on the second reading of this Bill to vote for a measure which on balance I regard to be a great step forward, --

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. JOLLIFFE: --to vote for a measure which notwithstanding some serious defects, --

HON. MR. DUNBAR: Don't spoil it!

MR. JOLLIFFE: I am not spoiling it; the people who took four backward steps from the old act are the people who are spoiling it. I don't want to see it spoiled. We would like our pleasure to be unmixed. We would like to feel we were not going backward as well as forward on this measure. But for many people, if not to the Hon. Minister of Municipal Affairs (Mr. Dunbar), this measure will mean a great deal; and we have great pleasure in supporting it. We do not waive for one moment our objections to the grave defects I have indicated here to-day. We are in much the same position as an unfortunate homeseeker in these troubled times who finds that he can rent for himself and his family a slum house. Now he may have grave objections to that house, but he is glad to be able to get it, and he accepts with enthusiasm the only house he can get.

In that sense, Mr. Speaker, we accept with enthusiasm the bill before the House this afternoon.

HON. MR. Wm. A. GOODFELLOW (Minister of Public Welfare): I have listened with interest to the discussion of the Bill which is now before the House. I want to compliment some hon. members of the Opposition for constructive criticism and ideas which they have expressed, and I refer especially to the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe). Speaking about the principle in connection with the old-age security program, I presume that the Federal Government felt they should present it to the Provinces because it was in line with the proposals of the Committee which they had appointed. I assume they felt it was necessary to bring forward proposals that would meet with the agreement of all the provinces. After all, in any conference, in order to get agreement, you must sit down in a spirit of co-operation and display a willingness to get together for the common good; and you have to make concessions. No one ever gets everything he wants. I do not suppose any hon. member would want to live in a world wherein each and every one got everything he desired, or everything he went after; it would take all initiative away from us.

I agree with the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) that, we all having denounced the means test as being unsound, it is hard to see the principle of depriving people of the use of their productive ability, and of making them feel -- due to the means test, which was very stringent -- that they are receiving charity. It would be rather hard to argue for the presentation to this House of a Bill which imposes a means test on a group of citizens who, at ages of 65 to 70, have far more productive ability than the group over 70. However, we did feel and we do feel that the conference at Ottawa was a step forward. It brought forward, at least in part, a program we have favoured for some years. I have felt, as one who has been responsible for a number of years for the administration of old-age pensions in this Province, that there should be some form of contributory pension to which people at the qualifying age should be entitled, as a matter of right. I have publicly stated that on many occasions. One cannot but reach that conclusion after having had experience over a period of years in the administration of pensions and having had to penalize people because they earned a few too many dollars. We had to do that sort of thing every day in the week. Thousands every year could not qualify for a

full pension, because their assets or their earnings were too large. So we hope that, for at least that part of old-age security which is to become effective on the first of January, there will be provision for at least the group over seventy. By passing this Act, we are imposing on another group of people a means test which will be based on the needs of individuals who apply between the ages of 65 and 70. Like the Leader of the Opposition, I am not heartily in accord with this principle, yet I believe it is a great step forward inasmuch as it will help a needy group in that particular age limit which at present is encountering hardships.

I would not get up before the House this afternoon, Mr. Speaker, and make any prediction as to how many will apply or how many will qualify under the legislation before us. I assume that our experience will be the same as under the former old-age pensions measure. At the start the numbers were small. I believe, in the first year it was in effect in this Province, there were only about twenty thousand applicants; but the number has grown until at the present time there are 93,000, and this, with a means test which is comparable to what was in force when the system was

was instituted. So it will be progressive. It is my definite opinion that in a period of slackening of employment the numbers will rise very rapidly. I do not think anyone can question the fact that able-bodied people, especially men, are not going to apply for a pension of forty dollars a month if they can go out and work and earn much more, especially in these days of comparatively high wages. However, the trend will be progressive, and I would not make a guess or attempt to indicate what the scheme will cost the Province of Ontario in the next year, but I am sure, as I know every member of this House is, that the cost will increase, as is the case with all social or public welfare measures, as the years go by.

A question was raised relative to the ability of the staff of the Department to deal with the applications as they come to the attention of our Department. We feel we will be able to handle the applications. We have approximately 150 field workers across the province. They are working on this matter at the present time, and I assure this House that we will do everything possible so to handle these cases that every person who qualifies will receive a pension in the last days of January, 1952. That is the only indication I can give you: we will do everything that is possible within the ability of the

employees of the Department to handle the applications. Being unable to handle the volume that we might anticipate, we proposed, as we have been doing in the past, to make payments retroactive, providing the applications were received by the first of January, 1951, --

MR. JOLLIFFE: Hear, hear.

MR. GOODFELLOW: --because it would not be fair to any needy person in this Province to deprive him of even one month's pension because of difficulties of dealing with the volume of applications which may come in.

Regarding medical services: the hon. member for St. David (Mr. Dennison) yesterday raised the question as to whether we had made provision to give the services to the group over seventy, and the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) has again raised the question to-day. The only assurance I have is derived from the law clerk. After all, I am a farmer, not a lawyer, and I have not the legal mind; but I always feel that as far as Ministers are concerned, it is for governments to set policy and for our legal mind --

MR. SALSBERG: --to confuse them as much as possible!

MR. GOODFELLOW: --to prepare these bills of ours for introduction as legislation. The law clerk assured me that monies appropriated by the last Parliament for old-age pensions can be used for medical services for the old-age group until March 31st next, the end of the fiscal year.

The Act is very simple. I think it covers what we proposed that it should cover. The question of bonuses was raised yesterday, and again to-day. As long as I live I shall never look back with pleasure to the experience I had as the responsible Minister in trying to administer the supplementary bonus to pensioners in this Province. Now that the Federal Government is assuming full financial responsibility for the over-seventy group, I think it would be rather presumptuous on the part of this Government or this House to suggest to the Federal Government, which will be paying the bills for universal pensions, how much basic pension should be paid to people over seventy years of age. It is not for me to suggest how much that amount shall be, when they have assumed responsibility for the over-seventy group. I am not going to express any view as to whether it is adequate or inadequate, because, to put it plainly, in my opinion it is none of my business. The financial responsibility

is theirs.

MR. MILLARD (York West): It is in the agreement you made.

MR. GOODFELLOW: No, that was not our agreement. Our agreement is to enter into a pension system for needy persons between 65 and 70; and I have spoken of the experience we had with the bonus. There is something I want to straighten out on the record, because hon. members may have got the impression yesterday that it was the Federal Government that took the first step to raise basic pensions, in 1949, when they were raised from $30.00 to $40.00 per month. I think those who were then members of the House will remember that they were paying a bonus to those who qualified. A great many did qualify at that time for the full ten dollars, and we found it was almost impossible to administer that bonus. I am not going to blame any hon. member for this, but the House knows that it was used as a political football. From the administrative standpoint, it was most difficult to administer the bonus because of the amount of pressure which was being brought to bear and the criticism the system was receiving, so we as a Government decided to abandon the ten-dollar supplement, and before this House we announced that we would pay our share, our twenty-five percent of an additional ten

dollars a month. to all pensioners of the Province of Ontario, -- an undertaking which we proceeded to carry out. We were very pleased the following month when the Federal Government gave an undertaking that they would pay their 75%, being the remainder of the ten dollars additional basic pension.

I think, Mr. Speaker, we should keep this in mind. What we said at that time was that we would pay our twenty-five percent of any basic pension which the Federal Government might set. To-day I say to you that this Government will pay their fifty percent, because in the new pension we are sharing fifty-fifty instead of 75-25. We will pay our fifty percent of any basic pension for the 65-69 group which the Federal Government may set.

MR. MacLEOD: Would the Minister permit a question? Would he be willing to follow that up by offering to pay the ten dollars now if they will match it with ten dollars?

MR. GOODFELLOW: Mr. Speaker, this is an entirely new venture in public welfare. This is a big program. It is something new; it is exploratory. We do not know exactly where we are going on it. In that respect, it is the same as anything a government goes into. I think

for the present time, since the Federal Act does stipulate forty dollars a month, we should be very reluctant to increase that amount, particularly when it only applies to the group 65-69 for which we will have responsibility in administration.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): It might be pointed out that this annually involves $250,000,000 new expenditure. That is a lot of money.

(Take "E" follows)

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, without being presumptuous, I would like to suggest that the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) say again what he said just about two minutes ago, because it was quite important and I am not at all sure that all hon. members of this House heard it.

MR. GOODFELLOW: What I said, Mr. Speaker, was that we would pay 50 per cent of any basic pension which the Federal Government established for the 65-69 group. After they establish it, we will immediately proceed to pay our 50 per cent.

I said in the beginning, Mr. Speaker, referring to the remarks of the hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) in connection with the principle of this program, that we have favoured and have continually asserted publicly that we favoured a universal contributory pension to all citizens at a qualifying age. We are on record to that effect and have been for some years. We feel that it is proper that such a step could be taken, and we are very happy that the Federal Government is taking the necessary steps.

In connection with this pension for the 65-69 group, it was a compromise. All conferences between provincial and Federal governments must sit down in a spirit of compromise. This was not our proposal, this was not our idea, this is what the Committee suggested, that the provinces should enter into an agreement with the Federal Government to pay 50 per cent or to share on

a 50-50 basis for the age group 65 to 69 who are in need. We made proposals at the conference last December to the effect that in the opinion of this Government it would be more desirable to give consideration, rather than re-imposing a means test on a more productive group than the over 70 group, which we did not favour, that consideration might be given to the implementation of a pension, an allowance to all those physically disabled between 18 and 70 years of age, or at whatever age the Federal Government decided to establish the universal pension. I still feel, Mr. Speaker that our proposals were sound, I feel they would have filled a very great need across this country and it would have received the whole-hearted support of all able-bodied citizens, because they do have sympathies for the unfortunates who are disabled.

AN hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear.

MR. GOODFELLOW: However, it was not for us to press our proposals. The proposals were laid, and very ably laid, before the Conference by the Hon. Prime Minister of this province (Mf. Frost), but it was up to this province to co-operate and to make sure that at least part of these proposals, at least the

universal pension, should become a reality and in no way did your government feel that they should put anything in the way which would prevent the implementation of the universal pension. We obligated ourselves, and I might

(Page E-3 follows)

say that the hon. leader of this government (Mr. Frost) was the first provincial representative to voice his opinion at that Conference to the effect that the province of Ontario would whole-heartedly go along with the Federal government in order to reach an agreement on these social security measures.

We were not entirely in agreement inasmuch as we felt that consideration should be given to the disabled, and we are still interested in the disabled people in this province. It is true, as the hon. Premier (Mr. Frost) has said in this House at the last Session, that a half a loaf is better than none, and that many of these people who are disabled will be found in the 65 to 69 group. The incidence of disability is much greater in that group than will be found in the younger groups. I would say possibly 25 per cent of our disabled people between 18 and 70 years of age will be found in the group 65 to 70. There is still a need there and I might tell this House that we have been giving a good deal of consideration to the matter of this province -- this government -- introducing legislation which would grant an allowance to our disabled citizens. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, hon. members of this House realize it would not be possible to do it at this Session, because what is the point of introducing legislation when I agree with the remarks of the hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) that our department is going to have its hands full getting the 65 to 69 group set up and

and to make our payments the first of January. However, we have made a good deal of study, as a matter of fact I spent some little time in several of the States across the line, this summer, particularly in the State of Michigan where they introduced a disability allowance as of April of this year in co-operation with the Federal and the State governments. Some 16 states in the United States have disability allowances. Michigan is comparable to Ontario in many respects and I spent some time discussing their scheme with their Director of Public Welfare for the State of Michigan.

I am quite impressed with it and would like to say to this House this afternoon that it is the intention of this government, in the very near future, to introduce legislation which will provide a disability allowance for all disabled persons in the province of Ontario.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. W. DENNISON (St. David): Regardless of age?

MR. GOODFELLOW: I want to make it quite clear that this legislation, when it becomes effective, will apply to totally disabled persons and it will be comparable to the physical test which we now have under Mothers' Allowance. I might say there are a good number of families in this province with children who are minors, who are receiving assistance and we are not having too much difficulty in respect to the medical test for that group of incapacitated fathers whose

wives and children are receiving allowances.

We will be relieving the mun cipalities of a number who are presently totally unemployable and are receiving relief in the 65 to 69 group, but by introducing legislation to take care of all disabled persons between 18 and 65, we would be still further relieving the municipalities of expenses, of cost, municipal expenditures in connection with social services. We hear a great deal about the expenditures of the municipalities in connection with social services and that would be a relief to them as well as providing for a very great need, and I have no hesitation, Mr. Speaker, in telling this House that in my opinion, as Minister of this Department, I think this group here has been sadly neglected down through the years. It is actually the only group in the whole community for which social service welfare has not been provided. I am most sympathetic to them and I assure this House that at the very earliest possible time when we can get our legislation prepared and know that we have the best legislation that can possibly be presented to this House, that it will be a happy day for me and for all hon. members of this House to be able to approve and to adopt a disability allowance for disabled persons.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. W. H. TEMPLE (High Park): Mr. Speaker, could I ask the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) just how soon he expects that to be?

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. GOODFELLOW: I would say, Mr. Speaker, we would be able to get our legislation in ample time before the next regular Session of the Legislature.

MR. F. R. OLIVER (Grey South): After the next election?

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Is that a campaign pledge?

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Before or after.

MR. MacLEOD: That is the twenty-third point.

Motion agreed to on division.

Ayes - 83

Nays - 0

Second reading of the Bill.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, in view of the unanimity with which the House receives the legislation advanced by the Government, I am encouraged to go ahead with Order No. 2.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

ALLOWANCES FOR BLIND PERSONS

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: Government Order No. 2, second reading Bill No. 2, "An Act respecting Allowances for Blind Persons". Mr. Goodfellow.

HON. W. A. GOODFELLOW (Minister of Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I move second reading of Bill No. 2, "An Act respecting Allowances for Blind persons".

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Is the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) going to speak?

HON. T. L. KENNEDY (Minister of Agriculture): Is it necessary?

MR. GOODFELLOW: Well, Mr. Speaker, for the information of hon. members of the House, this is permissive legislation on our part, to enter into agreement in respect to blind pensions. It is comparable to the previous Bill which has just received second reading.

I am pleased that it has been found possible to increase the permissible income to blind persons. As a matter of fact it would be my impression at the present time that very few blind persons in the province who requir assistance would not quality under the anticipated blind legislation. The permissible income has been increased and, in the interpretation of the regulations in connection with income, the computing has also been eased off compared to what it was formerly.

I do not think it is necessary, Mr. Speaker, for me to elaborate on this Bill any further, any more than to say that formerly blind persons were under the Old Age Pensions Act, and they were quite in order when they requested that they have an Act of their own. In addition to that, as you know, since we are sharing on a different basis on the 65 to 69 pension, to that which we are sharing on the blind pensions.

that also makes it more necessary to have two separate bills. The province will be sharing on the basis of 75 - 25 per cent on the blind allowances and 50-50 on the 65 to 69 old age assistance.

Mr. B. E. LEAVENS (Woodbine): Mr. Speaker, in entering into this debate on this Bill, I must say at the outset I am very happy indeed to see this Bill before this Legislature. It is my intention to support it. First I would like to place onthe record for the information of the House, a brief sent by the Canadian Federation of the Blind to the hon. Mr. Martin in Ottawa on June 20th, 1951. The Canadian Federation of the Blind at that time was in convention in Montreal, when the following brief was sent to the hon. Mr. Martin, then Acting Prime Minister of Canada. Before I go any further I might say I have a copy here for the reporters, they need not take this down, I will give it to them:

"Honourable Sir:-

Re: Blind Pensions Act.

" The Canadian Federation of the Blind, assembled for its SILVER ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION this week in Montreal, has noted with interest the introduction in the House of a Resolution proposing a Blind Persons' Act. The Canadian Federation of the Blind, since its founding in 1926, has had among its chief objectives improved legislation for the blind and the

bettering of living and working conditions, and it may claim to have accomplished a great deal in this direction.

" The C.F.B. wholeheartedly approves the principle of a Blind Persons' Act. It has suggested this in several briefs to the Federal Authorities on different occasions. However, the Resolution now before the House does not indicate much improved legislation and objectionable restrictions are implied. It is noted that as far as the Federal Government is concerned the total amount is limited and there does not appear to be any provision made to link this payment to rising living costs.

" The principal objection of all the delegates at present in Montreal is that the means test has been retained. For twenty-five years the Federation has endeavoured to establish the fact with our Legislators that blindness should be recognized as a definite economic handicap and that an allowance or compensation should be paid to all. It is possible to furnish you with hundreds of instances to show that blind persons cannot earn the same amount of money, doing the same work under the same conditions as sighted employees and this is clearly proven by the fact that the average earnings of blind workers are far below those of others and considerably less

than the average pay of sighted labour. Practically every brief submitted to the Special Parliamentary Committee which sat last year to deal with old age pensions approved of and asked for the abolition of the means test. This organization felt that with such strong representations the blind would be considered on the same basis.

" Application of the means test works a real hardship on the sightless. Many employers of blind labour pay only the difference between the pension and the total permissible income. The means test discourages part-time employment as it is impossible to earn more than the prescribed limit. Elimination of the means test would help the blind to secure employment in sighted industry, as the pension would bring the earnings of the blind employee up to near the same level as those of the sighted employees. An allowance to all blind women would be a great help, especially to housewives, to enable them to meet the added special and peculiar expenses with which they are confronted.

" The Federation does not believe that the cost of this proposal would be great. From information and figures which it has been possible to secure it is estimated that with the elimination of the means test there would be about ten percent additional pensioners, but this number

would probably be greatly reduced by those over seventy years of age who could avail themselves of the conditions of the Old Age Pension Act.

" The C.F.B. is desirous of bringing forcibly to the attention of the Government the keen disappointment and dissatisfaction of the blind of Canada with the terms of the present Resolution, and requests that appropriate action be taken to correct the Resolution and Act right at the outset rather than have it put into operation, with probably a number of years for the blind to wait before it can be improved.

" The Federation was prepared to present a brief to the Special Parliamentary Committee last year, but was advised that the terms of reference of that Committee did not allow it to go into the question of pensions for the blind. The C.F.B. is ready at any time to make more detailed representations on this subject. "

"Respectfully submitted,

CANADIAN FEDERATION OF THE BLIND

M. Eliason
National President

W. C. Day
President, Montreal Branch

B. E. Leavens
Toronto Branch

(Mrs.) E. Soughton
President, Hamilton Branch

C. A. Pettapiece
President, Regina Branch

(Mrs. R. Willis
President, Moose Jaw Branch

W. Campbell
President, Prince Albert Branch

C. Chappell
President, Vancouver Branch

My wife and I both have the honour of being members of the Canadian Federation of the Blind and have been members for some years, to assist these people who, I think, are going through the worst possible tragedy that can happen to mankind, to help them to a higher degree of living.

I realize that this legislation will go a long way toward helping some of these people. There are several of the items in the Bill that are certainly definite improvements. That the means test still applies to one of the most tragic circumstances in human existence has been a mystery to a lot of us because of the little cost which would be added to the expenditures of the country in eliminating it.

We sent copies of this brief before the bill came on the floor of the House of Commons, to all members of Parliament at Ottawa, to Cabinet ministers, to the Hon. Minister of Welfare and the Prime Minister, and I am very pleased to note, and with a good deal of satisfaction, that one of our members, Mr. Stanley Knowles was the only man who saw fit to present this brief on the floor of the House of Commons and to urge the government from the outset to remove the means test.

Now perhaps you might say: "What has that got to do with this government in Ontario?" Well, I think it has considerable to do. I might say that I also sent to the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) a copy of that same brief some two or three weeks ago, also a copy of the same brief to the hon. Prime Minister

of this province (Mr. Frost). A letter was also sent from the Toronto branch of the Federation of the Blind, outlining their idea as to what the government should do. I am not going to worry you with reading it, but will just refer to some of the highlights.

We feel, and hon. members on this side of the House feel greater thought ought to be given to the blind, to improve their conditions so that they may become more self-sufficient. We feel also that the $120. increase in the income allowance has very little appreciable effect so far as the blind persons are concerned.

Now I have a tendency to laryngitis and I am not very clear, with the voice that at one time they used to call "Leather Lungs Leavens".

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. LEAVENS: But there is an observation I would like to make.

HON. G. H. DUNBAR (Minister of Municipal Affairs): We can hear you well --- clear as a bell.

MR. LEAVENS: It is our opinion that the cost to the province of Ontario of administering this means test would be greater than in assuming the full responsibility of paying, or of taking away from this Act that means test. There is a large administrative cost, I believe, in administering this means test. In the whole of the province of Ontario I do not think there are more than 700 blind people involved in this piece

of legislation. It is my desire to ask this provincial government to assume the responsibility, if there is any, to the Federal administration for the cost of removing this means test and seeing the blind have the benefit of this Act without the means test.

Of course there are several of the things I have mentioned in the Act. One is that the residence period has been changed from twenty to ten years, which is a very, very good thing and brings under the Act quite a number of people who previously could not qualify. With respect to all of the changes --- and there are three or four of them -- as we used to say, "For these small mercies we are extremely thankful". But I think at this time the government should, and I think the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) has indicated that it might, give favourable consideration to taking the responsibility of paying the difference here so that the means test might be removed.

Now, I do not want to labour, or re-labour this subject, I think it should be apparent to all that our blind citizens deserve a special pension and special treatment. They are denied some of the finer things of life that we all enjoy, and I think if there is one group of people in our society to whom we should give the very great concession, it is this group known as the blind pensioners. I see this group almost every month, some of them, at their clubroom at 1010 Gerrard St. East. I would like some of you to drop in there

some time and see this group, because once a month about a hundred of them meet there for a social evening and recreation, and doing business on their behalf. I assure the hon. members if they were to see them, to see how happy they are as a group, if you saw them around the bingo tables --- I know it is against the law but I do not mind speaking about it in the Legislature this afternoon -- if you saw them around the bingo tables, some them with Braille cards, other with sighted people to help them, see the fun they get out of this simple game of bingo, I am sure that you would be only too pleased to give them any added pleasure that we might be able to do as Legislators in this province.

TAKE "F" FOLLOWS

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Now, I am not going to speak any longer. I could go on and on and on, but I do not want to weary the House with something that should be perfectly obvious to every hon. member here. I do hope that the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) for whom I have a very profound admiration, will take this Act under his advisement, and do everything in his power to remove what I call the most unfair and most vicious means test in regard to this unfortunate section of our Canadian society.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. C. H. MILLARD (York West): Mr. Speaker, in the days of this Session, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the remarks made by the previous speakers, particularly on the Opposition side of the House, with regard to the over-all plan which has been adopted by the Government of Canada and the provinces.

I, at one and the same time, welcome the separation of the Blind Pensions Act from the old-age pensions provisions, and yet I wonder why we have adopted a principle in regard to one group of people, which we now propose to deny to another group of people. I think there was unanimous opinion in this

House since Monday on the question of the progressive nature of doing away with the means test, and yet we adopt the means test in this Act with even less justification than we would in the case of recipients of old-age assistance.

I would like to impress upon the hon. members of the House, if it is within my ability to do so, the fact that we have been dealing with handicapped persons in the entire debate. One group was handicapped in a greater or less degree by virtue of old-age, in the point of earning a living, and in the point of carrying on their normal life, and living out their days in this country.

But in the group with which the legislation now before us deals, these people are not handicapped by virtue of life expectancy, or do not reach the handicapped stage in the same way. They are handicapped by virtue of a physical defect -- usually from birth -- and the point I want to bring out most strongly this afternoon is the general defect in this legislation, where the Governments of the Provinces have agreed with the Federal Government on a 75%-25% basis, to pay blind pensions to those eligible under the means test, at age of twenty-one.

I know it is a stock answer on the part of

our friends opposite that until that age there is a school for the blind, providing a special training and trying to overcome, in some degree, this very great handicap these people are labouring under. But I want to suggest, Mr. Speaker, that reply falls far short of meeting the actual situation. We find in labour's ranks that no matter at what period, whether it be at school-leaving period, or at seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, or twenty, these people enter industry under a definite handicap. They cannot ordinarily earn for themselves. No matter what their training and preparation has been, they are not in the same position to earn the same amount of money as a sighted worker.

The net result of that situation is that they are not able to have the opportunity for development, the opportunity for establishing a home, and they are denied, in a period of their lives, which is one of the most important periods, any form of public assistance.

I refer to the fact, of course, that the family allowances stop at sixteen. Under this Act now before us, the pensions for the blind will not start until age twenty-one, and, therefore, there is a gap of four or five years where these people, when they probably need help the most in order to compensate for

their disability which, in most cases, is certainly through no fault of their own, which everyone regards as most unfortunate, and as the hon. member for Woodbine (Mr. Leavens) has said, one of the most tragic handicapped groups. And yet we are dealing with a group of people of less than one thousand in the province of Ontario, where the added cost of continuing public assistance, or increasing public assistance from age sixteen to the allowance provided under this legislation, would be comparatively small. And yet we seem to be satisfied that an agreement has been reached, and that we are passing worth-while legislation in this regard.

I want to suggest that even if the means test were completely removed, and the gap between sixteen and twenty-one was bridged, this particular group of handicapped persons would not then be equal to making up the deficiency and the need that their particular type of disability imposes upon them.

Some other hon. members have said, in regard to another Act which we have now dealt with in second reading, that there is no use talking from this side of the House. I want to make an earnest plea, as one who meets this group of people working in our factories, trying to compensate for their disability, one with whom we have to deal in many cases through our collective

bargaining arrangements with employers. I want to make a special plea on their behalf.

Just a few days ago, in the city of Vancouver, I talked to the President of the Canadian Federation of the Blind, the institution to which the hon. member for Woodbine (Mr. Leavens) has referred, and I was greatly impressed with the case that this Federation has, not only for the federal legislation, but for the complementary provincial legislation.

I want to suggest that we have in the past regarded this group as sufficiently handicapped to merit special treatment. We have taken them out of the larger group of handicapped persons, and we have said, "This is a pitiful case, and will require special attention."

I want to urge on the Government and all hon. members of this House to find a way in the Ontario legislation dealing with this matter, so that the entire period -- not just at one period -- will be covered in some way, even though inadequately.

I see that someone has referred to these two bills as "historical", or "history-making". I would, Mr. Speaker, be very happy if in my occupancy of this particular seat, I could be a part of this twenty-third

legislature, and assist in finding some type of unanimity, such as was expressed a few moments ago in regard to Bill No.1, "Old-Age Assistance", in order that we could demonstrate that we are not going to go piece-meal or half-way in this sort of matter.

I, therefore, urge that the Government give earnest consideration to this question of bridging the gap between sixteen and twenty-one.

May I say to the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) and to the Government members, that they do not need to wait for the next regular session to deal with this particular question. I am quite satisfied that if there was a will, there would also be a way found to get the Federal Government and the other Provinces to agree. So far as Ontario is concerned, at least, we ought to deal with this matter whole-heartedly, and we ought to fill the entire span of this grave disability.

I do not think there is an hon. member in this House but who will agree that between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one the need possibly in many cases is the greatest, so far as people who are handicapped by the disability of being sightless.

So, Mr. Speaker, I want to urge two points

which have now been made; one, that we adopt the same principle in regards to the means test which has now been agreed upon between the provinces and the Government of Canada, and adopt the principle by way of the means test with regard to blind persons; secondly, that we fill the entire period by bridging the gap from sixteen to twenty-one, rather than starting it at twenty-one, after there has been a period of need and frustration, simply because these people do not have the physical ability of sight required to prepare themselves for a full life in our community.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Motion agreed to; second reading of the bill.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I move that you do now leave the Chair, and the House do resolve itself into Committee of the Whole.

Motion agreed to; House in Committee; Mr. Stewart in the Chair.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Chairman, I beg to inform the House that his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, having been informed of the subject-matters of the proposed resolutions, recommends

them to the consideration of the House.

I might, as a preliminary, call Government Notice of Motion Number 1.

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: Resolution -- Mr. Goodfellow:

"Resolved,

That,

(a) the Minister of Public Welfare, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, may, on behalf of the Government of Ontario, make an agreement with the Minister of National Health and Welfare on behalf of the Government of Canada to provide for the payment by Canada to Ontario in accordance with The Old Age Assistance Act (Canada) and the regulations made under it of amounts in respect of assistance paid by Ontario pursuant to this Act and the regulations, not exceeding in respect of any recipient, 50 percent of $40.00 monthly or of the amount of assistance paid by Ontario monthly to the recipient, whichever is the lesser; and

(b) old age assistance shall be exempt from provincial and municipal taxes; and

(c) assistance and the expenses of administration and the cost of providing medical and dental services to recipients of old age assistance shall be paid.

as provided by Bill No. 1, An Act respecting Old Age Assistance."

Resolution Number 3 -- Mr. Goodfellow:

"Resolved,

That,

(a) The Minister of Public Welfare, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may, on behalf of the Government of Ontario, make an agreement with the Minister of National Health and Welfare on behalf of the Government of Canada to provide for the payment by Canada to Ontario in accordance with the Blind Persons Act (Canada) and the regulations made under it of amounts in respect of allowances paid by Ontario pursuant to this Act and the regulations, not exceeding in respect of any recipient, 75 percent of $40.00 monthly or of the amount of allowance paid by Ontario monthly to the recipient, whichever is the lesser; and

(b) allowances shall be exempt from provincial and municipal taxes; and

(c) allowances and the expenses of administration and the cost of providing medical and dental services to recipients of allowances shall be paid.

as provided by Bill No.2, An Act respecting Allowances for Blind Persons."

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Government Order Number 1.

OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: Order Number 1; House in Committee on Bill Number 1, "An Act respecting Old-Age Assistance", Mr. Goodfellow.

On Section 1.

MR. EAMON PARK (Dovercourt): I wonder if the Hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) would like to make a comment on the definition of the word "assistance" in this section. It seems it is a lot narrower than is necessary. It certainly would seem to indicate that it would be impossible to include any provincial supplement under this section.

I wonder if the Hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) would like to comment on the reason for the narrowing of the definition, even if the Government is not prepared

now to proceed to a supplement, they might find it desirable to change their mind in the future. Is there any reason for this very close definition at this stage?

HON. WILLIAM GOODFELLOW (Minister of Public Welfare): All we are doing is implementing the Federal Act. This legislation is simply complementary to the Federal Act, and we propose to enter into an agreement, administer the Act, and pay our share of the Federal basic amount.

As far as the Act is concerned; the Federal Act is more generous; the means test has been relaxed somewhat; for instance, the confiscation of property; we feel -- without divulging any state secrets -- that it will be relaxed a good deal, in connection with all the complications and problems which present themselves in connection with computing the property as income. That has been qualified a good deal, and I think the Act is much more generous in some respects than the old Act was, as far as assistance is concerned.

MR. PARK: My concern was the definition here. What is the Hon. Minister's view? Would it be possible, if we passed this definition as it is, to perhaps at a time in days to come, bring forth any supplemental payments?

MR. GOODFELLOW: We would have to deal with that when we come to it.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Would the Hon. Minister agree that this present explanation of "assistance" is much narrower?

MR. GOODFELLOW: They desired it this way. As a matter of fact, the former pension was not a pension really. A pension was something you got more or less as a matter of right. Assistance is something based on need. It was felt advisable to distinguish between the two federal social security measures by using the word "assistance", but the meaning is exactly the same as in the old Act; the only difference is in the wording between "pensions" and "assistance".

It all depends on the administration of the regulations, as to how broad the meaning of the word "assistance" is.

Section 1 agreed to.

On Section 2.

MR. EAMON PARK (Dovercourt): Here again, are we not getting ourselves into a situation where we are writing into our Act a specific amount of money "forty dollars"? The old Act did not have any specific amount of money mentioned in it, and in order to modify it all that was required was a modification of the Federal Act,

and agreement by the Provinces.

Now we will here be required to amend the amount of pension by changing the legislation at the Federal level, and also changing the legislation at the Provincial level. And the Government will find itself anchored for a time, between sessions of the Legislature in regard to amending the Act.

It seems to me the Government should be free to bring about a change, if a change is needed.

You made an offer this afternoon, for example, in regard to "fifty percent". This Act as it is now would make it impossible to implement the offer you made this afternoon, if the Federal Government should withdraw it.

It seems to me that here we should be at least returning to the Section in the old Act which did give you some room to move -- some leeway, -- to act on the kind of offer you made this afternoon. It is one thing for an Hon. Minister to make an offer, and another thing to then pass a Bill to make the offer inoperative.

I would like to have the Hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) give his views as to whether this section of the Bill should be more in line with the previous Act.

MR. FROST: As the Hon. Minister of Welfare says (Mr. Goodfellow); these two Acts came out of an agreement we arrived at with the other Provinces and with the Federal Government.

(Take "G" follows)

As regards the amount, after all, this Legislature is close to the peak. It has been possible with a very few days' notice to call this Session. The Sessions are held at least every year. It may be that in the past we have gone too far in giving under legislation authority of a very wide nature to government.

MR. JOLLIFFE: You sound as if you are backing the opposition again.

MR. FROST: Well, we have had some complaints about that. On the other hand, as regards these two Acts, there is not anything wrong, they are very much more generous than the other Acts in that they provide, as the Minister has said, for all income before the receipt of allowance or bonus; and if these things are to be changed, they can be very easily changed here in the Legislature if this necessity arises. After all, if you depart from the scheme in the plan we have arrived at with the Federal Government, it is not going to be a very satisfactory arrangement. This measure is patterned upon legislation and agreements which we arrived at there, and as the Minister said, the amount of forty dollars was arrived at by the Federal Government itself. If the amount is raised in the 65-69 class, we are quite willing to pay our fifty percent share of it.

MR. MacLEOD: Does that mean, then, that the Federal authorities ask this Government to give a commitment that under no circumstances --

MR. FROST: No, no.

MR. MacLEOD: Just a minute: let me complete the question: -- that under no circumstances would it supplement the amount fixed as the basic pension? They did not ask for such a commitment?

MR. FROST: No.

MR. MacLEOD: And you have not given such a commitment?

MR. FROST: No.

MR. MacLEOD: And therefore, are you free under this Bill to grant such supplementary assistance if it is felt necessary?

MR. FROST: Of course. I only say this to my friend. You are dealing here with an immense amount of money. You are dealing with nearly four hundred million dollars. Perhaps I might point out to all members of the House that approximately half of that is going to come from this Province. There is an increase of $250,000,000 covered by this legislation. As I said in the remarks I made the day before yesterday, this is really an immense scheme, involving a tremendous

amount of money and I think that we have to use reason and judgment in the way we deal with such sums. After all, our taxpayers have to absorb this. It has to come out of our economy; it has to come both from industry and the workers, from corporations and individuals. It is all very well to talk about giving more and doing more and so on. Let us absorb what we are doing in this very great move. After all, in the main, our taxes come from pretty much the same source, from the same businesses, the same people, and so on. I say, that is in the main. They come from the taxpayers of our country and from the taxpayers of this Province. Now in these things we can go to an extent where we make it impossible to do something else. An example was given here this afternoon. The Minister of Welfare announced to this House that we intend to go ahead with assistance for disabled persons. That touches a very necessary part of our lives. But you can give so much in social services in another direction that you cannot do that.

I was much interested in the address of my old friend from Woodbine(Mr. Leavens). I thought he made a very fine presentation of his case. I must admit that the matter of administering blind pensions is

of such a nature that we on this side of the House would almost like to make it universal. On the other hand, these things, again, are arrived at by agreements, and it is the needy segment of the blind people who are getting this pension. There are so many things necessary for the assistance of our people. Take, for instance, the provision this House made last spring for free schoolbooks for our children. The cost is two million dollars, and it is added to the burden on our taxpayers of welfare legislation. I can only say to my friends opposite that it is very nice to be more generous; all of us would like to be more generous; but remember that we have many fields to cover. My advice would be, let us digest this, let us absorb this, let us get it into our economic system before we do something else that will make it difficult for us both to carry our burdens or to do something more.

I repeat that one can point to this or that thing and suggest it would be very much nicer if we could provide for it. But we are doing plenty when we are providing this amount of money. This is an historic session. It is true that the resolution before us is not dealing with that amount of money; but remember that what we are discussing is agreements which are

going to affect our people in this Province to the extent of about $125,000,000 more money. That is a lot of money; my suggestion is that we work along on these things in a sound, reasonable way, so that in the end we can build up our economy in a manner that will balance things off and carry our obligations and still maintain the high standard of living that we have in this country. Remember, Mr. Chairman, our standard of living depends upon the ability of our people to produce and to export and generally to do business. It is necessary to use prudence and judgment in matters of this sort.

Section agreed to.

On Section 3.

MR. GRUMMETT: Section 3 makes provision for the payment of a Director of Old-Age Assistance. I assume that this appointment will take the place of the old Commission. In the first place, I would like to know why it has been thought necessary to do away with the Commission and hand over its duties to a Director.

While I am on my feet I wish to say a few words on behalf of the Commission. As one of the members of this Legislature, I have on many occasions

gone before the Commission to present our cases to them and have had a very courteous reception and consideration. If the Commission is disappearing, I, for one, want to say a word of thanks to that group that have carried on a very difficult job over the years.

MR. GOODFELLOW: Mr. Chairman, the main purpose in changing the administration from a Commission to a Director is that in effect for the past several years the Chairman of the Old-Age Commission has been responsible for the administration of the old-age pension branch of the Department. We feel it is good administrative practice to have a director, rather than a Commission. Sometimes you get a slight conflict in commissions, and one vies with the other as to who has the most authority, and so on; and in the final analysis, the Minister responsible for any department of government holds the Director of the branch responsible for the administration of that particular branch of his Department. I think this is good administrative practice. I assure the members of this House that we will attempt to give them the same courteous service that we have in the past; and I am very pleased that it has been possible to secure

the services of Mr. Campbell as the present Chairman of the Old-Age Commission. He comes to our Department with a background of experience from the Workmen's Compensation Board.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): May I make this explanation to the members of the House? We had hoped to complete this afternoon by six o'clock discussion of these bills in Committee.

(Take "H" follows)

MR. FROST: I would suggest we meet in the morning and move the motion for the adoption of the speech from the Throne so that those who wanted to take part in that would have an opportunity so to do. It might be resolved into the Leaders of the various parties, speaking, if they have something to say. This with a view to proroging the House at 4:00 o'clock to-morrow afternoon. However, I will leave it to the hon. members of the House.

I may be possible to go through these Sections here at this time. If there are any points which require consideration, they could be considered -- if there are any -- by the Department of the hon. Attorney General (Mr. Porter) during the evening, and then if necessary they could be given further consideration by the House to-morrow morning, very briefly. They could be cleared away in that manner.

That would enable us to go ahead with the other business, the first thing in the morning.

On the other hand, if it is the preference of the hon. members to adjourn now and meet at 10:00 o'clock in the morning, in Committee, I do not believe it would require a very great length of time on the other motion, if you want it that way. I do not want to keep the hon. members here who may have made

engagements in anticipation of an adjournment at 6:00 o'clock, but perhaps the hon. members would not mind waiting over and let us try to go through these Bills, if we can.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Do I understand the hon. Prime Minister is suggesting we ignore the clock?

MR. FROST: That is right.

MR. JOLLIFFE: And continue in Committee?

MR. FROST: That is right.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I do not think it would take very long.

MR. FROST: Let us try to do it, anyway.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I do not know of anybody who wants to make a speech in Committee stage. I know there are some comments on most of the sections of this Bill, but as far as I know, nobody wants to make a speech. We do object to two or three things, which we will bring forward. But the main points have been made and I do not think it would take more than three-quarters of an hour.

Section 2 agreed to.

On Section 3.

MR. J. B. SALSBERG (St.Andrews): On Section 3, Sub-section 4, 'Granting to the Director the Power to Rescind or Amend, and so forth, and so forth, and then it says: "Every such determination and direction is final and is not subject to any review by any court of law or otherwise".

What I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Public Welfare now is whether this restricts the right to appeal would not remove any possibility of achieving what I have tried to achieve for quite a number of years appealing both to him and his predecessor, Dr. Vivian. Both of them agreed with me that we encounter hardships on the part of many applicants for pensions who find it hard to prove their record. The regulations were so rigid and the sources from which we could get the proof were so limited, that very often anybody who interviewed the applicant was convinced that a person was seventy or over, but he could not produce the record.

My suggestion was that we get Ottawa to agree -- since that time there was a division of responsibility and a sharing of the cost -- to refer such doubtful cases to a judge who will, in his wisdom, decide whether the applicant has a substantial claim or not.

What I am afraid of is the present sub-section will remove any such possibility. I think the Hon. Minister, in a private talk with me, agreed with that proposition.

MR. GOODFELLOW: That is all taken care of.

MR. SALSBERG: How?

MR. GOODFELLOW: By a tribunal to be appointed.

MR. SALSBERG: Well, that is very important news for a great many people, and I would like to have the Hon. Minister on record about that.

MR. GOODFELLOW: The discussion took place at the last conference, at which we were discussing regulations with the Federal Government, and with Provincial representatives, and it was decided there are some cases where it is most difficult -- or practically impossible -- to prove age, and in those cases there would be a tribunal established, and on which will be a representative of the Federal department, a representative of the Provincial Department, and a third person, to deal with these. There are only a few of them, and there will be the final court of appeal in the case of people who cannot give proof of age. I think this is a very definite step, and I always go back to the case where the son was getting the old-age pension, while his father could not qualify.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Does that mean this tribunal will have the power to make its decisions, and use its best judgment?

MR. GOODFELLOW: That is right. And they will use medical evidence, although, frankly I do not know how they will go about that.

MR. MacLEOD: That is really a step forward.

MR. EAMON PARK (Dovercourt): May I direct a question to the Hon. Attorney-General (Mr. Porter), as it concerns him perhaps more than the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow), and that is whether the decision by Mr. Justice Gale, in the Labour-Relations Board case may not affect the power established by this legislation in sub-section 4 of Section 3? That is, the determination to be final, and not subject to review before the courts. I believe it is written into the Labour Relations Act in the same way, or at least something similar to it.

HON. DANA PORTER (Attorney-General): Now that the hon. member (Mr. Park) wants some free legal advice, I do not know that I can satisfy him. I can assure the hon. member (Mr. Park) that natural justice will not be denied.

MR. MacLEOD: That covers a multitude of sins.

Sections 3 to 6 inclusive, agreed to.

On Section 7.

MR. W. DENNISON (St.David): I wonder if the Hon. Minister will tell us what will be the position of these old-age pensioners who are now paying back, by reductions in their payments, over-payments which the Department claim were made in the past year? To-day an old-age pensioner is only getting thirty dollars instead of forty dollars, because he has to pay back ten dollars a month on a previous over-payment.

Do I understand that from now on the pensioners get the full forty dollars from Ottawa? Does the Hon. Minister intend to write these over-payments off the books?

MR. GOODFELLOW: That is right. In the last few months, I have often wished there was some way we could increase the partial payments up to forty dollars. If there are any pensioners in the ridings of the Hon. members who are worried about their little estates, may I say that I do not think they need to worry too much. I do not think the Government will be too restrictive in collections on estates, at least not for the next two or three months.

Section 7 agreed to.

On Section 8.

MR. J. B. SALSBERG (St.Andrew): On Section

8, Mr. Chairman; it would seem to me that section is both unnecessary and harmful. I cannot understand why the Government puts this section into the Bill. It provides for the payment of pensions to this group if Ottawa decides to stop its contribution.

The Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) spoke a few moments ago about another matter, and added that we did not have to hurry; that we can always get together; that this House can be called in a few days or weeks -- as was proven in this instance -- and I agree with him.

Certainly a matter of such importance should not be disposed of as this Section would make possible, by this or any other Government. I doubt if it will happen, but imagine what would happen if the Federal Government should suddenly decide to end --

MR. JOLLIFFE: To commit suicide.

MR. SALSBERG: Yes, other Governments have done that. I also know of some members of the ruling class who have committed suicide.

But imagine a Government in Ottawa saying that to this Provincial Government, which would immediately stop payments to thousands of people. Why, you would create a crisis. Certainly we could get together in special session to deal with a crisis,

which would then arise, as a result of Ottawa's actions.

I suggest this entire section should be deleted, and I will be very happy to move the deletion of Section 8, unless the Government can present better arguments than I have yet heard why it should be included.

MR. GOODFELLOW: I think, Mr. Chairman, we will have to refer to our own common sense, and have enough confidence in the Federal Government to know that neither this Government nor any Government at Ottawa will withdraw from this legislation.

MR. SALSBERG: Then why have the section? Let us rely on common sense and on the Legislature meeting to dispose of such a crisis if and when it should arise.

In view of that explanation, I think the section should be deleted.

MR. FROST: May I say that I think probably a section of that sort is the way of expressing that this is a Federal-Provincial agreement. This came from the previous Act, and I have no doubt it is in the Federal Act, and I think if we were to take that out, we might be doing violence to the agreement. I quite agree it is only academic, and this is only done in accordance with the Act they passed, and no doubt

their Act has similar provisions, and I think it should be left in.

MR. SALSBERG: Not to prolong this discussion, I would, nevertheless, say that this is one of the few sections which seems to have been inserted by this Government, rather than by Ottawa. This enables the Federal Government to withdraw from the agreement if they wish. I am sure that Ottawa would not object, if the province continued to pay, if the Federal Government decided to step aside, as the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) has said.

MR. FROST: Suppose one of the provinces wanted to withdraw. The Ottawa Government is under no obligation to pay their proportion. I cannot imagine any province entering into this agreement and then withdrawing, but it is conceivable that it might happen.

MR. WISMER (Riverdale): In the Federal Act, as was in the Old-Age Pension Act, there was a clause which said that the Federal Government agrees with the provinces that they shall not break this contract except on ten years' notice; in other words, that ten years' notice will be given to the Province, as was the case under the Old-Age Pensions Act. All this does is provide that ten years' notice shall be given.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I think that is a bit of an academic issue; but the situation is this, Parliament can do anything; it can change its mind every day, if it wants to. But, as far as possible, for the Parliament of Canada to commit itself, it has committed itself, by Section 9, Sub-section 1, which reads:

> "In accordance with sub-section 2 hereof, every agreement shall continue in force so long as the provincial law remains in operation, or until the operation of ten years from the day upon which notice of an intention to terminate the agreement is given by the Minister, with the approval of the Governor-in-Council; to the Province with which the agreement was made."

Short of writing it into the British-North America Act, you cannot get anything in the way of a commitment which can be any stronger than that. That is as far as we can expect it to go.

MR. SALSBERG: Then why do we need this section?

MR. JOLLIFFE: Because, in theory, an agreement stands or falls with the agreement. I think that is academic.

Sections 8 to 10 inclusive, agreed to.

On Section 11.

MR. T. D. THOMAS (Ontario): Mr. Chairman, there is one section omitted. In the old Act there was a Section providing for cost of living bonus for any class of pensioner or group thereof.

Will the Hon. Minister tell us why that was not included in this Act, and why that clause cannot be inserted now?

MR. GOODFELLOW: I think I made it quite clear this afternoon that we did not propose to get into the cost of living bonus, of which we pay fifty percent of any basic amount the Government sets.

MR. JOLLIFFE: How can you say that, under Section 3?

MR. GOODFELLOW: Because we will immediately call the Legislature to amend the Act. As a matter of fact, I think that section could have been changed to permit the Government to raise their share, if the Federal Government raises the basic amount.

MR. JOLLIFFE: You could have done that by adding six words.

MR. FROST: In connection with these supplementary payments; I think, as I said before, it is a great mistake for the Province to treat supplementary payments as a part of the old-age pension agreement.

It really upsets the whole basis of the agreement. As I think the hon. member for St.Andrew (Mr. Salsberg) mentioned this afternoon -- and reference was made to it once before -- if we were getting into the type of assistance where we are separating it from the old-age pension arrangement altogether, I think that would be the only way to approach this thing. It is a great mistake to combine supplementary payments with the old-age pension, which is really carried out by agreement with the Federal Government, which has the fixing of the basic amount. I think other provinces which are doing that, are meeting with some embarrassment, because of that, and the great difficulty in the administration, and the matter of confusion which arises in the minds of people. It is very difficult to tell one person he is entitled to a forty-dollar a month old-age pension, while someone down the street is receiving fifty dollars. It leads to misunderstandings. We had plenty of that in this House before.

I think the House will recall we got into countless misunderstandings, until we got out of it. We will handle it as a separate Act, and deal with it as a matter of public assistance, quite aside from the old-age pensions.

MR. GOODFELLOW: I think it would have to be

part of the public assistance program, and be administered on a local level. I do not see any other sound way of doing it.

MR. JOLLIFFE: There are difficulties all right, and there will continue to be difficulties wherever there is a means test. The Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) mentioned one man on a street getting forty dollars and another getting more. You will get that with the means test, which is still to be administered by the Province, and I think if you are going to have something like that, it should be administered by the Province. But, in any event, you are also finding it necessary to continue a certain degree of interest in the people over seventy, as well as the people from 65 to 69, on the basis of need.

The Hon. Minister said that the Federal people are going to need your counselling service and the experience of your workers for many of the people over seventy, and I was very glad to have that statement that you will continue -- legally or otherwise -- a small degree of medical assistance for people over seventy. So you will find it impossible to divide it completely from the field of seventy and over. I think you will find it is not practicable to do so. In that field

you are still -- and will continue to be -- concerned about need and this much-disliked term "means test".

If you are going to be concerned with these people, and be concerned with the means test in the 65-69 age field, is it logical to say you cannot afford to get mixed up with a supplement in the case of need? The fact is, you are already committed to the supplement to some degree, in case of need.

MR. GOODFELLOW: But it should be on a local level.

MR. JOLLIFFE: But you are not doing it on the local level, if you pay a doctor bill --

MR. GOODFELLOW: I do not pay him. The Medical Association administers that themselves.

MR. FROST: We would not have much of a means test in connection with medical assistance. Probably an affidavit, or something of that sort.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Then you will need a little more money.

MR. FROST: We are not going into any expensive means test arrangements for people, from the medical assistance end. We hope to have it in the form of a simple affidavit, or something of that sort.

MR. JOLLIFFE: In the most friendly spirit, may I say that if I thought the Province of Ontario was

going to do a real job in respect of medical services, drugs and hospitalization in connection with this group, and thereby assist them, and also assist the municipalities, I would be more enthusiastic about your statement that you could not afford to get involved in a supplementary pension. It would carry some weight if you were going to do something substantial in the way of medical services, drugs and hospitalization, which arises under this Section. We have had no indication of that. We would certainly welcome it and would welcome hearing anything which the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) cares to say now.

MR. FROST: The question is, how many are coming into this, but that is a problem with the Medical Association. It is not very popular with the medical people, I do not think.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I appreciate the difficulty.

MR. FROST: Let us wait and see how it works out.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I was not suggesting -- even though I may on another occasion -- that a person with means, who is really independent, should be subsidized in preference to others at this time, just because they happen to be over seventy years of age, and have to go to an hospital. They may be able to

afford it very well. At the moment, I do not think they deserve priority, but the program of real protection, from the point of view of the pensioner and from the point of view of the municipality, I think is different.

MR. MILLARD: Mr.Chairman, I would like to ask the Hon. Minister, is it not taking into account the large number of people who will qualify under this means test, in this group of 65 to 69? Is it not a fact that they will qualify because of the fact they have some physical disability, so they are not able to work, because you have just said the people who can afford to work will not take a pension of $480.00 a year with an additional allowance of $240.00. They will continue working. So most of these people will require medical assistance in addition to the old-age assistance which they will get under the Act. It seems to me the Government has not provided any means by which they can adequately meet the need.

MR. GOODFELLOW: We intend to extend the present services by giving it to those over seventy.

MR. T. D. THOMAS (Ontario): Mr. Chairman, I would move that Section 12 of Bill No.1 be amended by the addition of the following paragraph:

"(bb) Providing for a cost of living or other bonus to recipients or any class or group

thereof."

MR. FROST: I would point out this motion involves the expenditure of money.

MR. MILLARD: No, I don't think so.

MR. FROST: This involves and envisages the expenditure of money, and is definitely out of order.

MR. JOLLIFFE: If this is the regulation clause.

MR. THOMAS (Ontario): It was in the previous regulations.

(Take "I" follows)

THE CHAIRMAN: I make the ruling that this contemplates an expenditure of money and is therefore out of order.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Mr. Chairman, would you mind reading it? We did not hear it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Thomas (Ontario) moves that Section 12 of Bill No. 1 be amended by the addition of the following paragraph, e.g.,

> " providing for a cost of living or other bonus to recipients or any class or group thereof."

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Chairman, with the exception of one word, the word "pensioners" changed to the word "recipients", that is exactly the same wording as appears in the present Act. The present Act gave the Lieutenant-Governor in Council the power by regulations to deal with a matter such as this among other things. It has been suggested that it contemplates the expenditure of money. Indirectly, yes, in the sense that any motion ever moved in this House could remotely and indirectly entail the expenditure of money. The pith and substance of the thing is that this should be added to the powers given the Lieutenant-Governor in Council by regulation and, to make my point clear and to indicate how absurd such a ruling would be, this is giving a power to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and the rule as to money bills and money resolutions is that they must emanate from the Lieutenant-Governor.

You make nonsense out of that when you rule that giving the Lieutenant-Governor power to make this regulation is contrary to that rule. It is an absurdity.

HON. DANA PORTER (Attorney General): The hon. member (Mr. Jolliffe) surely is being academic there.

MR. JOLLIFFE: No, I was being very sound, and I have only pity for those who cannot follow me.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. PORTER: We follow you all right, but we do not agree with you.

THE CHAIRMAN: The government can bring this in, but a private member cannot move it.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I thought it was lost on the other side of the House.

MR. H. WALTERS (Bracondale): Mr. Chairman, before you leave Section 12. If what has happened here is true, I am just wondering are those regulations enumerated here the only ones that the Lieutenant-Governor has any action on whatsoever? According to this, when we signed the agreement with the Dominion of Canada, we are bound by the regulations in Bill 395 and these are the only exceptions that can possibly be made.

I was wondering, because apparently here we are still back to the same old way with respect to the transfer of property. You are dropping your age limit in this thing here, and you did run into some very peculiar situations. The hon. Minister of Welfare

(Mr. Goodfellow) knows what I am speaking about with respect to the transfer of property, and now you are going to run into the same thing even more so with the lowering of this age limit, because you have people going on pension at 65. We ran into this situation when the pension limit was 70. You are under the means test here under this legislation. How about people -- you say you are bound hard and fast by this section, under section 7 of Bill 395. What it says in this section 9 is pretty hard and fast, and apparently when you assigned the agreement over to the government you pretty well bound your own hands.

You may want at some time to relax this, broaden it and accord yourselves a little more freedom, because you have people in certain industries and certain circumstances who are going on burnt-out pensions at 62 and 63, and with inflation they are going to apply for assistance under this Act at 65. What are you going to do with those people when it comes to property,

I would suggest to the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) in his negotiations with the Dominion Government this be relaxed and in the case of anyone applying at 65 years of age for pensions who have been receiving a burnt-out pension, who does own his own property, but receives no remuneration or any benefit from it -- in other words, actually representing

a cost to him, he has to maintain the house and to pay taxes, but where he receives no remuneration whatsoever from the home, it should be exempted under that section.

HON. W. A. GOODFELLOW (Minister of Welfare): Mr. Chairman, we have pointed out to the Conference that we feel the regulations should be very generous in respect to property. I am inclined to agree with the hon. member (Mr. Walters) who has just spoken, that in regard to properties, as such, in computing income for pension purposes, we should be very generous, to see how much pension they will qualify for. We have brought that to the attention of the Federal authorities and we are hoping they will be much more generous in the regulations they set up for the province to administer in connection with property.

MR. WALTERS: May I go further, Mr. Chairman, and say that I think you should be generous with them, because my experience in dealing with some of these cases is that where these people are able to get a burnt-out pension before their sixty-fifth year, I assure you they are really burnt out. Many of the older workers in some of our industries have been forced to take a burnt-out pension for the reason that the war years put a terrific strain upon them and they were getting well along into middle age when the war broke out, and the added burden of war has

certainly burnt a lot of them out. You are going to find you are going to run into quite a lot of those people since you have now dropped the age down to 65. They are going to be coming to you for assistance.

MR. JOLLIFEE: Mr. Chairman, I was wondering if the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow), as he indicated he might do, has obtained any further advice with reference to paragraph (c) of section 12. This was the one which I suggested gives him authority, or gives the Lieutenant-Governor in Council authority, to make regulations "providing for the whole or part of the cost of providing medical and dental services to recipients or any class or group thereof". The "recipients," of course are the recipients under this Act, and "any class or group thereof" means any class or group of recipients under this Act.

I would like to hear from the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) about this. I might say I have briefly discussed it with the Legislative Counsel, but I would like to hear from the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) about it, and, of course I would be interested to hear from the hon. Attorney-General (Mr. Porter) who always is able to throw some light on these matters.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Better repeat that, he didn't hear it.

MR. GOODFELLOW; We are taking it for granted on the word of the Provincial Auditor. After all, if the Provincial Auditor is not going to raise any objection to our spending out of that item, which provides

for medical services, and which was passed at the regular session of the Legislature, I think as a government we can be assured that we do not need to pass legislation to deal with that particular problem.

HON. DANA PORTER (Attorney General): Mr. Chairman, may I add to what the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) has said, that in the budget items that were passed at the last general session, there is provision for medical services. I am advised that that provision is sufficient to take care of any estimated number of pensioners or new pensioners up to the next Session. I am also advised, and the hon. member (Mr. Jolliffe) well knows, that there are two ways of providing for the expenditure of money. One is by some definite statutory provision, the other is by an item in the budget; and there are many items in the budget that are not specifically authorized by statute, and the government has made provision for the number of pensioners who may be concerned with the need for medical assistance of all ages from 65 up. The government of course will be prepared to continue that and no doubt the House will approve.

Of course, there is always the possibility of a treasury warrant if the item in the budget is not sufficient, but I am advised that no provision was made for this in the last budget.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I appreciate that statement. I think that the matter depends really not so much on

what the Provincial Auditor thinks. He looks at it from the point of view of the Provincial Auditor ---

MR. PORTER: The Provincial Auditor merely acts upon what is provided in the Estimates and what is provided in the statute, or both, as the case may be.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I want to assure the hon. Attorney General (Mr. Porter) that I am not going to quibble about this.

MR. PORTER: Oh, I am not trying to quibble.

MR. JOLLIFFE: But if the Provincial Auditor is not going to object to it, as far as I can see no one else is going to object. If the funds voted under Vote 160 are spent in the way which the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow) promised yesterday they would be spent, nobody is going to object, and I understand, therefore, that the government is proceeding on the strength of the lack of objection more than anything else.

On the other hand, I think there is something to be said for the principle just stated by the hon. Attorney General (Mr. Porter), but I do not think it is very sound. There was a vote, Vote 160, and under that vote there were five items, and when the Committee passed that vote and within that vote five items --- only one vote --- it was passing them for certain purposes and in a certain sense and with a certain intention. Certainly that intention did not include what we are now discussing. On the principle put forward by the hon.

Attorney General (Mr. Porter), that merely shows you can find a vote which, by some manipulation of nomenclature, may be said to cover the situation that you have here now. I do not think it a sound or tidy way of doing government business.

Sections 12 to 16 inclusive agreed to.

Bill No. 1 reported.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Order No. 2.

ALLOWANCES FOR BLIND PERSONS

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: Government Order No. 2, House in Committee on Bill No. 2, "An Act respecting Allowances for Blind Persons".

Sections 1 to 11 inclusive agreed to.

On section 12.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): What is the intention, may I ask the hon. Minister (Mr. Goodfellow), or what is the expectation, perhaps I should say, about the effective date of the Bill? I am referring to proclamation, under section 12. January 1st?

HON. W. A. GOODFELLOW (Minister of Welfare): Yes, January 1st, 1952.

Sections 12 and 13 agreed to.

Bill No. 2 reported.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee rise and report two resolutions and two bills without amendment.

Motion agreed to.

The House resumes, Mr. Speaker in the chair.

MR. H. A. STEWART (Kingston): Mr. Speaker, the Committee of the Whole House begs to report it has come to two resolutions and passed two bills without amendment, and moves the adoption of the report.

Motion agreed to.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I move, seconded by Mr. Doucett, that when this House adjourns the present sitting thereof, it stands adjourned until 10 of the clock. I think due to the progress we have made, sir, that I might make that 10:30 o'clock.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. L. E. WISMER (Riverdale): A very popular move.

MR. FROST: 10:30 o'clock tomorrow morning. And that the provisions of Rule 2 of the Assembly be suspended so far as they might apply to this motion.

Motion agreed to.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Why do you not finish third reading now and get that finished?

MR. FROST: That is only a formality. I think we can put that over.

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): No, let us take it up tomorrow.

MR. FROST: Mr. Speaker, according to arrangements made with the leaders of the other parties and

with the hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe), we will adopt the unusual course in a special session, which will certainly mean that what has happened in other sessions is not necessarily a precedent; tomorrow we will move the traditional motion,which is usual, as a government motion for the adoption of the Speech in Reply. That will be moved and seconded by two very eloquent members, the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) and the hon. member for Simcoe, Centre (Mr. Johhston)..

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: These gentlement have had no opportunity to prepare their addresses. This is an ocaasion upon which hon. members like to take lots of time to prepare their addresses. They have had no opportunity. Now, whether they speak at length or briefly tormorrow, we will be very glad to have them move and second this address.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: The purpose of this is to give hon. members of the House the opportunity of speaking and perhaps asking some questions on matters they are interested in and concerned with, to be followed by the hon. Leader of the Oppposition (Mr. Jolliffe), who will in turn be followed by the leaders of the other groups. If there are others who are to speak, they could come in and the debate would then be wound up on the government side, I presume by myself.

We can move that motion tomorrow morning, Mr. Speaker, when the House assembles and the motion, which would be moved I think formally, would be followed by a motion that the motion be taken into consideration at once, which gets us around the difficulty of giving the required notice for the consideration of that motion.

Mr. Speaker, I move the House do now adjourn.

Motion agreed to; the House adjourned at 6.53 of the clock, p.m.

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ONTARIO

Fourth Session

of the

Twenty-Third Legislature

of the

Province of Ontario

0

Toronto, Ontario, September 24, 1951, et seq.

0

Volume IV

Thursday, September 27, 1951.

0

HON. (Rev.) M. C. DAVIES, - Speaker.

R. C. Sturgeon,
Chief Hansard Reporter
Parliament Buildings
Toronto

P R O C E E D I N G S

of the

FOURTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-THIRD LEGISLATURE, HELD IN THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER, TORONTO, ONTARIO, SEPTEMBER 24, 1951, AND SEQ.

Hon. (Rev.) M. C. Davies, Speaker,
Presiding.

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Toronto, Ontario,
Thursday, September 27, 1951,
10.30 o'clock, a.m.

And the House having met.

MR. SPEAKER: Presenting Petitions.

Reading and receiving petitions.

Presenting reports by committees.

Motions.

Introduction of Bills.

Orders of the Day.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister); Mr. Speaker,

following out what we discussed here last night, I have a motion to make, in order, I think, to regularize the proceedings a little bit. In looking at the order paper I notice that it looks a little abbreviated. If we were to have third readings now we would exhaust the order paper, and I think perhaps it would be better to delay third readings, and have something on the order paper, until the conclusion of the discussion that we are going to have.

We are taking an unusual procedure, but usually there is a motion which enables hon. members to bring up some point they want to deal with. I quite appreciate that this is an assembly of the people, and while it is called for a specific purpose, I do not think any of us would want to put our members in the position of having it suggested that there is any restriction on freedom of speech. As for myself, I have not contemplated saying anything at all. However, it has been pressed upon me by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) and others that there may be matters general interest upon which they would like some comment; and in that case, I would be very glad indeed to accede to the request of the House and to answer questions which may arise from what hon. members may say. So, Sir, I will make a motion after which I shall ask the hon. member for

Stormont (Mr. McDonald) to move, and the hon. member for Simcoe, Centre (Mr. Johnston) to second a motion in order to put this matter formally before the House. As I explained yesterday, in respect to so important a motion it is customary to give the members entrusted with that duty considerable notice, so that they may deal with subjects with which they want to deal. We are on this occasion taking this course virtually without notice as far as they are concerned.

It will be understood, too, that as I have stated, we are using this motion as a means of putting the House in a position to discuss matters which the members may like to bring up.

I move, seconded by the hon. member for Lanark (Mr. Doucett):

> "That the speech of the Honourable Lieutenant Governor to this House on Monday, September 24th, be taken into consideration to-day."

Motion agreed to.

MR. FROST: The next motion will be made by the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald); and I might give the House this background. It was felt desirable that the House should adjourn to-day, and the purpose of meeting at this rather unusual hour

10.30 in the morning is to enable hon. members to catch the afternoon train. I have an arrangement with His Honour the Lieutenant Governor to be available this afternoon to give assent to the Bills and to prorogue the House; and I just mention to hon. members that it was felt that all our contributions might be reasonably short and to the point, and that in that way we would be enabled to have a discussion here of some things that some hon. members may want to discuss. So I will ask the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) to make the motion.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. member for St.Andrews (Mr. Salsberg) before the orders of the day asked for the opportunity to put a question. I am sorry that I overlooked that.

MR. J. B. SALSBERG (St.Andrew): Thankyou, Mr. Speaker. I rise to make an enquiry of the Minister of Reform Institutions (Mr. Foote).

It so happens that some months ago I received information from inmates of the Industrial Farm at Burwash which was rather disturbing. Among other things, there was the complaint that inmates who are unquestionably mentally disturbed were flogged, and in some cases, they say, mercilessly flogged, and in some cases, removed

from Burwash to mental institutions. I have also received a petition signed by about two hundred inmates regarding the food situation. I communicated with the Minister, whose desire to bring about reforms in the reform institutions I do not question; I know that he desires the most advanced type of institution that it is possible to have anywhere. However, the facts were of a very serious nature; and I communicated with the Minister, outlining the nature of the complaints. My proposal was that the Minister order a public enquiry to investigate the charges and the conditions in Burwash. Following that I later proposed that the Minister agree, if he should not want to hold a public enquiry, for me to accompany him at his convenience to Burwash, where some of these complaints and situations could be looked into by both of us. The Minister made a statement to the Press on September 5th in which he rejected the idea of an enquiry. He thought it was not necessary. But he did state, -- and I am now quoting from the Toronto Star of September 6th, 1951:

> "I am preparing a full reply to Mr. Salsberg, A detailed answer will be ready before the Special Session of the Legislature which opens on September 25th".

I was hoping that the Minister would find it convenient to make a statement either in writing or verbally during the life of this very brief Session, in view of the statement carried in the Press. This, however, being the last day, I thought that it would be not improper for me to rise at this time and ask the Minister whether he has the reply that he promised, actually, on a certain date, and if not, when he thinks he will have it, and further, whether he will agree either to an enquiry or to a joint visit.

I want to say this, Mr. Speaker, before I sit down. I know that the Minister's heart is in the right place as far as these institutions are concerned. I am not unmindful of the improvements he has brought about in other institutions. But I do suggest that the fact that we have had a continuous chain of disturbances in that institution would justify a full statement -- or an enquiry, which I would prefer -- or at least an agreement that he and I go up and look into things together.

HON. J. W. FOOTE (Durham): Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of any date line having been set for the production of this reply. I began enquiries as soon as I received the hon. member's complaints, and I have

the replies ready now. I could give them verbally to-day and in writing to-morrow, or if the House should wish it, I could table the reply here. I think that this question this morning is more in the form of a debate than a question. However, as it has been made fully in the House, I would be glad to bring the information in and give it to hon. members if they wish it; or I can do as I promised to do, -- give the hon. member the reply direct, on the earliest possible date, to-morrow in writing or to-day verbally.

What is the wish of the hon. member? Does he want the reply tabled here, or given to the House, or would he prefer to receive it himself?

MR. SALSBERG: Well, Mr. Speaker, I am hardly the one to decide the course of action of the Minister to my proposal. Obviously he does not want to accept the proposal that we should have a public enquiry, but if he feels he has information and wants to table it, of course he can do so.

HON. FROST: I am perfectly willing that it should be given here.

MR. SALSBERG: I have no objection, -- no objection whatever.

MR. JOHN L. McDONALD (Stormont): I move, seconded by Mr. Johnston (Simcoe,Centre):

"That a humble address be presented His Honour, the Lieutenant Governor, as follows":

"'To the Honourable Ray Lawson, O.B.E., LL.D., Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Ontario:

"'We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, now assembled, beg leave to thank your Honour for the gracious speech your Honour has addressed to us.'"

Mr. Speaker, in rising to move the adoption of the Speech from the Throne, I consider it an honour and a great pleasure.

First, while I may be a little late, I would like to congratulate you on your appointment as Speaker of the House. I might say that the House is very fortunate in having a gentleman like you to preside over it. You have a very difficult task, and you have performed it, I am quite sure, to the satisfaction of the members.

I represent the County of Stormont, a County

which I think is probably pretty well known now It has been known for quite a number of years, mainly because of the Deep Waterway and the Power development along the St. Lawrence River; and we are in hopes that sometime in the near future we shall see this project an accomplished fact.

I do not think I will take much time in speaking on the record of the government. I think it speaks for itself, and I am sure that when the time comes to ask the people's approval of that record, they will agree very substantially in favor of the government.

MR. McLEOD: Will that be "in the fulness of time"?

MR. McDONALD: I am also very pleased with the legislation that is before this House in respect of old-age pensions, and especially that the means test is to be abolished. Speaking from sixteen years' experience, and having had something to do with old-age pensions, I would say that the means test is a very unfair and unsatisfactory way of giving assistance to the needy. Also, I am sure, the provision for assistance to citizens between sixty-five and sixty-nine years will be of great help to a large number of people. The world at the present time being a young man's world,

when a person arrives at the age of sixty-five he runs the risk, in a great many vocations, of becoming a misfit. This pension will be of great assistance to people who are in that situation.

Now, Gentlemen, I am not going to speak very long, but I want to address myself briefly to one subject which has been mentioned quite often, namely the rising cost of living. Since the war the climb has been continuous, and during that time various governments have enacted legislation to try to curb that rise, but with no apparent affect on the cost of living. My personal idea is that the legislation which was enacted to relieve the situation has actually had some effect in causing a rise in prices. Naturally, when social legislation is passed, it has to be financed, and to do this governments must levy taxes. There is only one place from which the taxes can be obtained, and that is from the total production of the country. The sum thus raised must be added to the price of goods. Further, in order to give effect to the legislation we enact, it is necessary to employ people to administer these acts, and naturally the people thus engaged are removed from the production side of the picture and placed in what may be called the non-producers,

(Take "B" follows)

so that actually what is happening is that the percentage of non-producers was increasing, and the percentage of producers was decreasing; therefore, the producers were compelled to receive less than all he produced formerly.

Years ago -- to go back quite a number of years -- the non-producing class was very small, and did not have much effect. But, at the present time, it is quite an item.

There is no use in trying to say that in passing social legislation that will be a cure. Why we may try to cure something at one spot, it seems to me that our old chariot will begin to squeak somewhere else, and naturally we grease it there, and then it squeaks somewhere else. As I have said on a former occasion, I think we are going about it in the wrong way. In order to illustrate the way I think we are trying to accomplish this is by taking the case of a motor-car. You have a miss in the engine, and you stop at a garage and tell the mechanic there is a miss in the engine. He says, "Oh, all it needs is a spark plug," and he puts a spark plug in, and we drive out, but the engine still misses. We drive back to the garage, and tell him the engine is still missing, and he says, "Oh, it is the carburetor which is missing." We would not go back to that garage again, but would say that the mechanic

did not know his business.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Sometimes we have to.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): But as far as the garage is concerned, if a man is a mechanic, the first thing he does is to try and find where the trouble is, and when he finds it, it does not take him long to rectify it.

What I am getting at is this; instead of suggesting this should be done or that should be done, let us sit down and find out where the trouble is, and if we find the trouble, I do not think it would take much to cure it.

We do hear a lot of criticism of certain people, especially bankers and industrialists. I have met a number of those gentlemen, and personally they are fine men. They have their faults, of course, but have not all of us? We are not perfect. But there is a lot of criticism about the industrialists being very greedy. That is to be expected, human nature being what it is. I do not think we should criticize those people too severely, because I believe if we were in their position, we would do the same thing they are doing.

MR. MacLEOD: My, my, my; surely not.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): I do not say the

people are wrong. We can go back to Biblical times -- and the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) probably would know more about this than I do -- where the greediness became so bad that they were using the temple of God to satisfy their greed. So it is nothing new.

Supposing the Hon. Prime Minister and the Treasurer (Mr. Frost) would come down with the Budget and say that all the hon. members of this House in future will receive twenty thousand dollars a year for being members of the Legislative Assembly.

MISS A. MacPHAIL (York East): We would drop dead.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): How many of us here would stand up and say, "No, I will not take it." There would be quite a few of us.

MR. MILLARD: You are in a dream world.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): The only reason I would vote against it would be because of the electors. That is only human nature.

What I am coming to is this; I do not believe we can legislate greed out of existence.

AN hon. MEMBER: You can penalize them.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): We have an example of that in the Communist countries, where they are going

as far as possible to legislate greed out of existence. Every so often they have a purge of some of their members, and that is due to nothing else but greed.

What I suggest is, that instead of trying to legislate the people out of that greed, why not try to set up a system of distribution where greed will not penalize the people? If people are greedy, let them pile it up. It is no good to them after they die. Let us set up an economic system, and if somebody elects to pile up a few billion dollars, somebody else has not got to suffer, and we still have Democracy.

MR. MacLEOD: You are coming along.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): That can be accomplished by sitting down and doing some thinking. If we spent more time thinking and less time talking, we would get further.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): For myself, as I have said before, years ago there was famine and misery simply because we had not come to the time when we knew how to produce.

Now, God has given us the earth, and has given us the raw materials, and given us some intelligence. Our engineers and our scientists have solved the problem of production, but our economists have fallen down badly

in the distribution system.

My personal opinion is that what we are trying to do is to run a distribution system from the production end. It is all tied up. They say the only way we can distribute goods is by producing more. The fallacy of that was proven in the '30's. We had a surplus, and the only way you could distribute that surplus was to produce more goods. How will you distribute a surplus by producing a greater surplus? So we have to separate the distribution from the production end, and when we do that, Mr. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe), we will have accomplished in legislating greed out of existence, and placing it so it will not penalize the other chap.

As I have said, God gave us the beautiful earth, and all kinds of natural resources; He gave us the intelligence to produce plenty.

MR. MacLEOD: And they are producing it all for the United States.

MR. McDONALD (Stormont): I will end up by saying what a young lieutenant said in the platoon in which I was, just before Paschendale. We went over what they call the "tape". Some of the hon. members will remember what that is. The colonel gave us a talking to, of what we had to do, and then he said to the lieutenant, "Take

the platoon over and see that they have a thorough understanding of what is wanted."

This young fellow did not believe everything in K.R. & O. He thought otherwise. So he took us out of sight of the colonel, and said, "Sit down boys, and smoke." And he said, "Watch that hill, and if you see the colonel coming, tell me."

He said, "We went over the tape and we got a lecture of what is before us." Now, when we go over the top, we may not have that situation at all, at all.

--Before I finish that, he was right there, because our objective was a low telephone line, and if we had gone up the telephone line, we would have gone to Berlin. He said, "There is one thing I am going to tell you, and that is this, when we start over the top, use the brains that God gave you, or God help you."

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. G. G. JOHNSTON (Simcoe Centre): Mr. Speaker, I consider it a great honour to be asked by the Hon. Prime Minister to second the motion in reply to the Speech from the Throne. I may say that I always do what the Hon. Prime Minister tells me.

As you know, all good reforms come about gradually. The legislation which has been introduced, has been very conservative, and I am happy that it was carried without a dissenting vote.

I think, myself, it would be a mistake to have increased the pension to those between 65 and 69 to fifty dollars, for this reason; that after receiving fifty dollars for a few years until they are seventy, and then being compelled to drop down to forty dollars, it would have been harder than to have started at forty dollars, and continued at that figure.

Regarding Bill No.2: I might say that the Government has not anointed the eyes of the blind with oil, but they have placed forty dollars in the hands of each blind person per month which will help them out considerably.

Before coming to the House, I was under the impression that the Liberals were slightly disloyal; that the C.C.F'ers were opportunists, and the Communists would ruin the country.

MISS MacPHAIL: And the Conservatives will have done all that, in time.

MR. G. G. JOHNSTON (Simcoe Centre): Now, I have come to the conclusion that every member of the Opposition is just as loyal to this country as I am.

I think all the hon. members have just as much right to their opinions as I have, and I think each one is trying to do for his riding the very best he can. At least that is the impression I have gained being here.

In 1867 -- just eighty-four years ago -- Canada had about three and one-half million population. To-day she has about thirteen and one-half million; she is the third largest trading nation in the world. May we all be true to Ontario, to Canada, and to the British Empire.

Mr. Speaker, I second the motion in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

(Page B-9 follows)

MR. E. B. JOLLIFFE (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, we have all listened with great interest to the speeches just made by the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) and the hon. member for Simcoe Centre (Mr. Johnston). I may say, Mr. Speaker, that I have a warm regard for the hon. member for Stormont, on several grounds. One reason why I have always taken a friendly interest in him is that I, like many others in this House, happen to be very much interested in the possibility, -- and I trust, the certainty -- of the St. Lawrence development becoming a fact.

The hon. member (Mr. McDonald) comes from a county which will be very much in the public eye in coming years, in my opinion.

The county of Stormont, the city of Cornwall -- I believe it is a city now -- and the towns along the river will certainly see a change in their way of life, and I think they will be able to make a very great contribution to the future of this country, as the result of the construction of the seaway and the hydro development connected therewith.

The second reason I have always been interested in the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) is that he is a farmer --

MR. T. L. KENNEDY (Minister of Agriculture): Like

yourself.

MR. JOLLIFFE: No, not like myself. He is so much of a farmer that he is able to dismay me with advice like he gave a little while ago, about thinking more and talking less, and, as one of the people who do not talk less in this House, certainly not less than the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) his advice staggered me a bit, but I do hope it will be taken seriously by hon. members and others, during the next election campaign, because that is the period when talking asserts supremacy over thinking, even in the ranks of the honourable gentlemen opposite. That is the time when the hon. members who are silent here suddenly become very garrulous on the hustings.

The third reason why I have a personal interest in the hon. member (Mr. McDonald) is that my mother happened to be born in the little village of Aultsville, and went to school in Cornwall, Therefore, I have had high hopes that the hon. member (Mr. McDonald) would give great representation to that great county in this Assembly.

Then the seconder of the motion, the hon. member for Simcoe Centre (Mr. Johnston) is a gentleman who commands my respect, because I think he is one of the honest Conservatives in this House.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I have a good deal of respect for honest, uncompromising Conservatives who do not go about wearing sheep's clothing, as so many Conservatives do, nowadays.

I think the hon. member (Mr. Johnston) -- who is also a man of few words; at least in this House -- is very definite and very clear about where he stands. It is a Conservative stand, and he does not pretend otherwise. For that I think he deserves much credit.

I want now to make reference to a number of matters which seem to be of timely interest. Yesterday I said many of the things uppermost in my mind, and perhaps this morning I will be a little more conversational. But, at the same time, there are some things I do want to say.

At the opening of this Session, we commenced with an expression by all concerned for the health of the King and as the Prime Minister said yesterday, I do not think there any of us who would wish Princess Elizabeth, or any other daughter, to be taken away from her father at a time like this, and as the Hon. Premier of this Province has made clear -- and I believe the Premiers of most other Provinces also -- there is no desire on the part of anybody in Canada that I know of

to insist on a tour which would have been welcome, but which certainly would be a trial to any woman at a time when her father is so seriously ill. Nevertheless, like others, we join in the hope that the tour of the Princess and her husband may be possible at some future time, whether it be this year or the next.

I also wish to acknowledge the businesslike manner in which matters have been transacted at this Session. In making that statement, I will assume the role of a lawyer for a moment, and remind the House that there is really no such animal as a "special Session". There may be from a journalistic point of view, but, in fact and in law, this is a Session of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, in the same sense as any other Session.

The Clerk of the House has been good enough to inform me regarding the first Session held in this House, and it is interesting to note that the first Session of the House was on December 27th, 1867. Mr. Speaker, how great must have been the devotion to duty by the members of that day, to meet two days after Christmas, when many of them must have wondered whether they were coming or going.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. JOLLIFFE: They actually met on the 27th

of December, a date which is not likely to be chosen again by this Government or by any other government.

MR. DOWLING: It is a good day for an election.

MR. JOLLIFFE: In the two succeeding years, 1868 and 1869, the House again met in the autumn -- I think in November, and adjourned over Christmas to meet again in the New Year. Of course, there was a great deal of legislation to be dealt with at that time. It was immediately after Confederation, and they had a lot of work to do, but it is interesting to notice that even at that time it did not seem possible to transact all the business necessary at the short Session in the New Year. The practice of having a short session in the early months of the year grew up later. It was not the practice during the first three or four years after Confederation.

As this is a Session in the strict sense of the word, and there is some time available to us, I think it is altogether proper that we should set aside some time this morning for expressions of opinion about matters other than the matter of pensions which, of course, is the raison d'etre of the Session in the first place.

Many things about this Session interest me. I cannot mention them all. I will mention one. We have with us in the House, sitting at my left, the honourable lady from York East (Miss MacPhail), and I think it is interesting to take note of the fact that her part in pension legislation has extended over so many years. Indeed, I quoted to the House some remarks by the Rt.-Hon. Mr. Meighen in the House of Commons in April, 1926, and at the conclusion of those remarks by Mr. Meighen, the next remarks were made by the honourable lady for East York (Miss MacPhail). She was there, and was tangling with Mr. Meighen, even at that moment.

I did not mention that yesterday, but it is interesting to reflect that a member of the House of Commons who participated in the passing of that legislation in 1926, should be one of those who voted yesterday on second reading of Bill Number 1 in this House.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I think it is rather unusual, because as the Hon. Premier of Nova Scotia said here the other day, most of the men who were in public life at that time are no longer in public life; or they have been pensioned off in some other sphere. Therefore, I think we should pay some tribute to the -- I will not say "hardihood" -- but to the staying powers of the

hon. member, who is still on the job and still voting for pensions, twenty-five years after 1926.

MISS MacPHAIL: I am going to need all of it.

MR. JOLLIFFE: There are not too many hon. members of this House who will be here or any place else in a position to vote for pensions or anything else, twenty-five years from now.

MR. SALSBERG: Are you sure of that?

MR. JOLLIFFE: I am sure of it. It is not a cheerful thought, but I am sure of it. Because, while this may be a young man's world, according to the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald), it is not a young man's world as far as the Cabinet is concerned, or even the "back benches" in this House or any other House. It is, perhaps, too much of an older man's world.

I notice that the Conservative Party is making an attempt to break that tradition, and attempting to recruit professional hockey players as candidates. I have no objection to that. I think professional hockey players in many cases would probably be better legislators than many others who have been tried out in recent years. But I do not think this should be taken too far, this inter-

changeability of functions in public life should not be taken too far, and while I think a hockey player would do as good a job, or better, than some of those on the Treasury benches, I would hate to see the Maple Leafs with their line of defence manned by the Ministers of this Government.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Now, the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) reminded us that we cannot legislate greed out of existence. That is something like the famous remark by a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, whom the Hon. Attorney-General (Mr. Porter) has told us said, "Fraud is immortal". Quite true. But, of course, what some of us are interested in doing is to legislate against fraud and against greed, rather than in favour of greed, but unfortunately in too many Legislatures, and in too many countries, there has often been a tendency to legislate in favour of greed. We have noticed in this country in the last six years spectacular demonstrations of rampant greed. We have gone through a period of inflation and rising prices in which the profiteering element of this country have made the biggest profits in the history of Canada, and during that same period, their taxes have not been

increased, but have usually been decreased. That is not exactly legislating against greed; it is legislating in its favour.

I must say at this point that I think the Government of Ontario is not primarily responsible for a developing economic crisis in Canada and in Ontario, which must be the concern of Governments at every level. As we all know, the Government of Canada has chosen to impose credit restrictions and other forms of control, other than price control, which are having some peculiar and disturbing results. One noteworthy result is an increase in unemployment. Many hon. members here are aware of an increase in unemployment, as they have seen it in their own ridings, but what is perhaps even more significant than the lay-offs, is the part-time work which is becoming the order of the day in so many industrial cities and towns in Ontario.

It cannot be more significant, because many thousands of men and women are involved, and as a rule the short-time work does not show up in the unemployment figure. It is practically impossible to obtain official figures as to the number of people on short-time.

The sort of thing which happens is this: we have a short period or a long period or an indefinite

period, and an industrial plant which has lost its markets by reason of Mr. Abbott's restrictions, lays off a number of men, and also goes on short-time. That is, instead of operating five days a week, it chooses to operate four days a week or three days a week, and the men concerned suffer a sharp reduction in income, and so do the people with whom they are doing business, but that does not show up in the list of those officially unemployed. That situation is becoming very serious, and I regret to say that the Hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Abbott) is still like Mr. Meighen "Unrevised and Unrepentant". He said on the radio the night before last that price control was not the answer to inflation, that the only answer is more production. I, myself, hold very strong views about more production and high productivity. I do not agree with the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) that we have had too much production. We never had it in the history of Canada; we never produced enough food to provide the people of the world with enough to eat; we never produced enough of anything to provide the people of the world with the necessities of life. But I do agree that there was a break-down in distribution at one period which made it appear there was over-production.

Of course we need more production and a higher level of productivity, but we will not get it by making people idle. You do not get more production that way. But, as I pointed out on more than one occasion, the way to get more production and more productivity is to institute sound policies on the part of government and industry. It depends far more on a sound policy for the encouragement of production, than it does in making scolding speeches to factory workers or to farmers, and telling them they ought to be doing a better job. That is much less effective -- in fact, it is completely ineffective -- than a sound policy which will encourage people to do their best. What we are doing to-day on every hand is not encouraging to the workers nor to the farmers to produce more. We seem to be doing all we can to discourage them. We are doing it to the workers by placing them on short-time; we are doing it to the farmers by telling them because there is a bumper crop they must take less money; if they have an exceptionally good crop, they are told they must accept a real trimming. We still hear that kind of talk, and that is no way to encourage people to produce more, if that is the need, and I agree with those who suggest it is the real need.

Another thing I would like to mention -- and here I think the Province has a larger share of responsibility,-and that is, the unfortunate result of the break-down in the housing program, if it can be called "a program". Every hon. member of this House knows that while there may have been more houses completed in the early part of this year yet in the other months of 1951, fewer houses are being started. That is a fact, admitted officially or otherwise, and I think we can only anticipate that the housing shortage next year and the year after is going to be more critical than ever before.

We had an announcement with great fanfare in June, I believe, of a new plan for participation in housing contracts by the Dominion, the Province and the municipalities. It is sometimes called "the Frosty-Winters plan", and it appears to be resembling its name in some ways. That plan announced in June involved lengthy negotiations, mainly between the Provinces and the municipalities. We have not had too much information as to the progress of the negotiations. I do not doubt there are negotiations, but I do doubt that houses are being started. I think it might be well for the Hon. Prime Minister to make clear, when he speaks later, how many houses have been started under the "Frosty-Winters

plan"; how many cellars have been excavated, or if there are to be no cellars, how many floors have been laid.

I made a prediction some time ago when there was some reference to five thousand houses under that plan. Even that number, of course, would be inadequate. But I said that by the following June I did not think we should have five hundred, and there are some private builders who have done almost that well on their own.

Surely the Government of Ontario, now that it is on friendly terms with the Government of Canada, and now that it is at long last cultivating relations with the municipalities, is in a position to give better leadership than we have yet seen in this field. Surely the Government can be persuaded to take a more sympathetic interest in that matter.

The Hon. Minister of Highways and Public Works (Mr. Doucett) is not in the House, but he has knowledge of a situation in New Toronto. I will give that as an example of the indifference of the Government toward the housing need.

Out in New Toronto we have an area -- I do not know the exact acreage, but an area immediately adjacent to the Provincial Hospital, which area is being used for grazing purposes.

Mr. Speaker, there is land in Ontario, in Bruce County, Wellington County, and many other counties, which is very suitable for grazing purposes, but I do not think that land on the Lakeshore, within a few hundred yards of some of the greatest industrial plants in this Province, is entirely suitable for grazing purposes. But that is what the Hon. Minister of Highways and Public Works (Mr. Doucett) thinks, and he has refused to take any steps which would make it possible for a housing development to be proceeded with on that property. So we can only gather that the province has some intention of extending the hospital onto that land, although a former Conservative Minister of Health, who represented West York in this House -- the late Doctor Godfrey -- gave an ironclad commitment that the hospital would not be extended onto that property.

I cite that case, which is one that all of the people on the Lakeshore are interested in, as an example of ministerial indifference toward the need for housing, particularly in an industrial suburban area. I think the House is entitled to a statement on a point of that kind, although I expect it will be evaded, as usual.

And, closely related to that problem is the

one of rent control. I think the Government and the House may have been wise in March or April to have applied for a Committee of this House to advise on rent control matters. As far as this group is concerned, the two hon. members of this group who served on that Committee were anxious to contribute their best judgment to the work of the Committee.

(Take "C" follows)

It does not follow that the government will be permitted to use the membership of representatives of other parties on that Committee to justify policies which were never approved by the Committee. May I point out that that Committee has not met since July. When it adjourned, the understanding was that it would meet again. It made certain recommendations. Some of the recommendations later appeared in the new regulations adopted by Order-in-Council. But as there seems to be some misunderstanding about this, may I make it as clear as possible that the rental regulations adopted by the government, I think in August, did not conform to all the recommendations of the Rent Control Committee. Let that be perfectly clear.

MR. FROST: I don't think that is correct.

MR. JOLLIFFE: That is correct.

MR. FROST: In what respect?

MR. JOLLIFFE: Well, I will give two examples. There is the question of the date in regard to notice, to avoid the possibility or the probability of evictions in the wintertime The Committee was very definite. I was not a member of the Committee; I am making this statement on the basis of the experience of our two members on that Committee. The Committee was definite

that the six months' notice for the family of an owner to give a tenant should not commence before October 1st, so that evictions would not be possible during the winter months and the earliest date on which, in a case such as that, the tenant would have to vacate would be the 1st of April. Instead of accepting the Committee's recommendation in that regard, the government set the date at the 20th day of August.

HON.LOUIS P. CECILE (Prescott): Mr. Speaker,

MR. JOLLIFFE: The hon. member can speak later on if he likes.

MR. CECILE: I would just like to point out at this time that the recommendation was for the first day of September. If the hon. member does not believe me he can consult the secretary.

MR. JOLLIFFE: The Minister can fight that out with other members of the Committee. Indeed, if he is sincere about it, he had better have a meeting of the Committee and get the thing started. My information from members of the Committee is that the Committee recommended October 1st and that the government set the date at August.

MR. FROST: I would point out to my hon. friend that we took the recommendations of the Committee, we considered them in Council, we had the regulations drafted, and, to make sure that they should coincide with the Committee's recommendations, we referred all regulations back to the Committee so that they might be passed on by the Committee before they were enacted.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I am not questioning the right of the government to determine what the regulations should be. I am not saying that the government was bound by the recommendations of the Committee. But I am saying, according to the information given to me by members of the Committee the regulations do not conform in all respects with the recommendations or intentions of the Committee. If there is any doubt about that, let the Committee meet. And may I ask why the Committee has not met?

MR. FROST: The regulations followed the very wording of the recommendations which were adopted.

MR. JOLLIFFE: That is not what members of the Committee tell me. If that were so, I would think there would be no difficulty about having a meeting of the Committee, -- which has been indefinitely postponed.

MR. FROST: Why do you want to have another meeting of the Committee? Do you want them to change their minds?

MR. JOLLIFFE: It is not a question of "changing their minds". The Committee adjourned, as I understand it, on the understanding that there would be another meeting in the near future; and if there is any unfinished business --

MR. CECILE: It is the first time I ever heard about that.

MR. JOLLIFFE: All right. Let me read my letter to the Minister himself, and see if it is the first time.

MR. CECILE: About the date, I mean.

MR. FROST: I may say to my hon. friend that we took pains to refer the actual regulations back to the Committee, and there was nothing in the regulations which did not have the approval of the Committee. It was not a directive from the Committee, but actually the regulations were referred back to the Committee so that there should be no misunderstanding as between the recommendations of the Committee and what was actually enacted. I can tell my hon. friend I know that was the

case because I myself asked that that should be done. So often I have seen an idea expressed by some department or some person in relation to legislation and the direction has been misunderstood by the officers responsible for drafting it.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Oh, quite.

MR. FROST: In this case we took care to see that that did not happen, by referring back the recommendations themselves, and nothing was passed until the regulations were approved.

MR. JOLLIFFE: That is all very well; but when the Minister says that the regulations were referred to the Committee let us see what is meant by "regulations". I think I can get that cleared up. Let me quote from my letter to the Minister of August 17, 1951:

> " I have been examining the new regulations made under The Leaseholds Regulations Act, 1951, and am somewhat surprised at the form in which they have been presented. One of the difficulties for the ordinary tenant or landlord in following and understanding the rental control regulations under Ottawa's administration was the existence of a multiplicity of separate orders which had

to be read together before their full effect could be understood.

I had hoped that one of the first acts of your administration, as soon as the government had determined the policy it intended to follow, would be to issue a new order in which all the regulations regarding rental control would be consolidated. Instead, I find that the new regulations consist of some seventeen dissociated sections, amending, re-enacting or revoking in piecemeal form various sections of three Wartime Prices and Trade Board orders and one previous provincial regulation.

Of what value, for example, is it to the ordinary person without ready access to a legal library to inform hin, as your regulations do, that "Clause k of subsection 1 of section 2 of Order 800 of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board is revoked"?

MR. FROST: I know my hon. friend will agree with this; what he is raising now is quite different from the point he first raised.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I did not raise it. The Prime Minister raised it.

MR. FROST: May I say to my hon. friend that, in connection with the consolidation of regulations and the simplifying of them, we on this side of the House are in entire agreement with him. I think that is reasonable. I think that is what we all want to do. But remember that this matter was referred to a Committee, and the Committee in their wisdowm did not raise that point, and, I think, for the very good reason --

MR. EAMON PARK (Dovercourt): That is not true.

MR. FROST: -- for the very good reason that probably there will be other changes and a consolidation of all of this multitude of Orders taken over from the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, and these, including our changes, can be then revised and brought into a very compact and simple form. It is not necessary to convince us on that point. It is only a question of the appropriate time for doing it and arriving at that consolidation.

MR. JOLLIFFE: But there is a little more to it than that. As I went on to say;

> " The new regulations are completely meaningless unless one has readily available copies of the W.P.T.B. orders to which they refer. Yet I understand that these orders have been allowed

to go out of print and are not generally available from any official source, though they are to be had at a price from unofficial sources, in a form which may or may not be accurate.

I understand that one of the purposes of the new regulations is to encourage the signing of two-year leases on terms to be mutually agreed to between landlord and tenant. If such leases are to be fairly negotiated it is imperative that tenants should have a full understanding of the regulations and of the protection to which they are entitled, whether they sign a new lease or not. This will be possible only if the existing multiplicity of regulations are consolidated into one order which can be readily obtained and easily followed. I would urge you to take steps to that end without further delay."

Then the Minister without delay, on August 23rd, wrote me a very courteous letter. I do not wish to be unreasonable about this, I wish to show that we have not got to the point of it yet, notwithstanding the reasonable attitude of -- perhaps -- all parties. He said:

"Dear Mr. Jolliffe:

I wish to thank you very much for your letter of August 17th. I have noted contents and appreciate your remarks. I may assure you that I am in agreement with your letter to a certain extent. However, you will appreciate that this matter is far from being finalized as yet and it is my hope that within the very near future the Committee will again re-convene and consider other proposals which are still pending. I had hoped that no definite consolidation would be made until we were definitely satisfied that we had everything in order and as complete as possible, so as to avoid the repetition of amendments, and amendments to amendments, as we found in the Federal regulations.

The different offices of the Administration have been advised to deal with all questions referred to them and advise the people freely as to their rights according to the new regulations. I sincerely hope that by the end of the year we will be able to tell the legal staff to go ahead with such consolidation, which I hope will be available in comprehensive form."

I want to be reasonable about this matter, but also I want the Prime Minister and the Minister to understand that serious questions do arise. In the first place, there has to be some finality about this thing at some point along the line. The tenants and the landlords are being affected by it. The members of this House are being flooded with enquiries about the meaning of the regulations and what their rights are. So are members of the legal profession, and they find it very difficult to say what the meaning is. That will continue until such time as the regulations are properly consolidated. If the delay is in consolidation because there are further regulations to be considered, then will the Minister tell us, in view of his intention on August 23rd to call the Committee together again, if the fact that he has not done so is the reason for the delay, and why has the Committee not met since August 23? If the Minister feels that the government's regulations are in complete conformity with the intentions of the Committee, I suggest that he discuss it with the Committee. I am assured by members of the Committee that they repeatedly raised the importance of having a consolidation which would be available to the legal profession and to landlords and tenants. I must say I think the employees of the Board are being placed in a

very difficult position. They are getting so many enquiries about the rights of landlords and tenants that it must be most difficult for them to advise people. I understand that the day before yesterday one office had 1485 enquiries by telephone. That is a terrific burden of work for people who have not even got a final consolidation.

HON. DANA PORTER (St.George): Was it a law firm that had these enquiries?

MR. JOLLIFFE: No, one office of the Rentals Board. As for the lawyers, I do not see how lawyers, or most of them, could give advice that is worth anything with the regulations in the condition they are now in.

MR. PORTER: Surely my friend is not serious about that. The legal profession have had these rental regulations before them for years, and they have been advising clients every year. Quite a few amendments have been made. Surely the hon. member is not suggesting that it is impossible for a lawyer to advise his clients. Some of the law book companies get out consolidated editions, - -

MR. JOLLIFFE: Which may or may not be accurate.

MR. PORTER: Yes. Well, --

MR. JOLLIFFE: And the Minister knows the significance of my remarks.

MR. PORTER: After all, if we have a further amendment it would mean that we would have to have another consultation in a few weeks' time. It is not advancing the matter at all.

MR. FROST: I do not minimize the importance of what my hon. friend is saying, but I think perhaps he is over-emphasizing it. Remember, although the last revision of the Statutes, when we started to sit here, was in 1937, these Statutes were amended until finally the revised Statutes came in in 1950. With all the mass of Statutes in this province it has been necessary for anybody consulting the Statutes not only to look at the original Statute but a dozen or more years of amendments. So I can only say to him that the problem that he raises is not a new one, and I think he over-emphasizes it a little bit.

MR. PORTER: Just a little bit! The government did adopt the recommendations of the Committee, and the very wording of the recommendations, and the Committee saw and approved the regulations.

MR. PARK (Dovercourt): I think that my hon.

friends will agree with me; I do not think the Attorney General was present at the session on the last afternoon we met. The Committee prepared a long list of points, about a dozen in all, that had not yet been covered in our discussions, and when we left that meeting that day it was my understanding of the situation that the Chairman of the Committee was going to call the Committee in a very short time to take up the agenda on the very points we laid down. Since that date there has been no meeting of the Committee called, and I think it is a matter of serious complaint that there has not been another meeting, to deal with the points that were to be dealt with.

MR. PORTER: That is an entirely different matter from that which was referred to by the Leader of the Opposition. He said, "You have made some change in recommendations". Some of these specific recommendations were adopted exactly in the very wording of the revised regulations laid before the Committee, and I am sure the hon. member recalls it.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Well, we still have not been told why the Committee has not met.

MR. PORTER: But the hon. member has made a statement which is not correct.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I will certainly look into that, and if he is right I will tell him so.

MR. PORTER: It certainly is so.

MR. FROST: Would the hon. member for Dovercourt (Mr. Park) stay there and agree to a regulation being passed if he was not in agreement with it? I have never found that the member for Dovercourt would do that. I cannot imagine him doing it.

MR. PORTER: We discussed with great care the actual wording of these regulations.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I think the Attorney General is going "too far out on a limb" in this.

MR. PORTER: You are the one who is just cutting the limb.

MR. JOLLIFFE: However, I will have a little more to say about the Attorney General a little later.

MR. MacLEOD: Why don't you set up a Select Committee to find out which of you is right?

MR. JOLLIFFE: The difficulty is due to shortage of manpower or something. You never had the Attorney General at the Committee, and I was not on the Committee.

MR. PORTER: Do you think perhaps I should not be on the Committee?

MR. JOLLIFFE: I have no objection.

MR. PORTER: The hon. member should withdraw the statement that we did not adopt the recommendations of the Committee. In their actual form they are incorporated in the regulations.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Those are not the words I used. My words were that the regulations adopted by the government -- and I want to make this clear -- do not conform in all respectswith the recommendations of the Committee.

MR. PORTER: The recommendations of the Committee were those regulations word for word, because they were laid before the Committee, and if they departed from anything any member of the Committee had in mind, he was there to say so at the time.

MR. JOLLIFFE: That is not my information, but if it is so, I will certainly be pleased to tell the Attorney General.

MR. PORTER: Now where does the information of the Leader of the Opposition come from?

MR. JOLLIFFE: It comes from members of the Committee, obviously.

MR. PORTER: One of them is right here in the House.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Naturally I will look into it. I certainly am not going to accept the Attorney General's statement until I have looked into it. But I will be fair with the Attorney General. If he is right, I will certainly tell him so without any hesitation.

The next point with which I want to deal is one about which something has already been said at this Session. It is something about which the Prime Minister should be frank with the House. He has said very little to the House about it except in a very general way. He is reported in the press as having been more talkative about it at a meeting in the Albany Club the other night. I refer to the St.Lawrence Seaway. I do not know why it should not be possible in a democracy to be a little more frank with the people about matters of this kind. I cannot believe that nothing has been done since July 24th. I think surely something has been done. On the morning of the 24th of July the Joint Seaway Project died another death in committee at Washington; and the government of Canada and the government of Ontario have

had more than two months since July 24th to make up their minds. This is not a matter that brooks indefinite delay, as the government knows, and I think it is about time that the responsible authorities took their decision according to their best judgment and informed the people of their decision. I realize there may be times and occasions when some delay is necessary, when perhaps negotiations are pending, but surely there must be a limit to these things sooner or later.

It is not as though the question was new. This was under consideration for many years. Both the Dominion and the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission have gone into it in detail for many years. It should be possible by this time to tell us what the government of Canada and the government of Ontario propose to do about it, and when they propose to do anything about it.

I do not want to take up too much time, but I am going to refer again in just one or two sentences to my friend, the Minister of Highways and Public Works (Mr. Doucett). I would say this to him, that we appreciate the difficulties under which the Department of Highways functions at a time when certain projects are urgently necessary and when the Federal government is asking all other governments to be careful about capital expenditure because of the dangers of inflation.

At the same time might I point out to the Minister that some of his supporters, including the morning newspaper in Toronto, are extremely critical of the methods by which the Department of Highways is carrying on new construction and improvement work throughout the province. It is being done in bits and pieces, and everyone who drives on the highways of Ontario knows how many small jobs are under way and how frequently it is necessary to make a detour while a mile or two miles of road are being patched up or re-conditioned, and how often these bits and pieces of highway improvement seem to bear some relation to the political exigencies of the territory. In other words, the impression is general, Mr. Speaker, not only in Opposition ranks but also on the editorial pages of the morning newspaper in Toronto, that highway construction and improvement is proceeding not so much according to plan or according to needs as recognized by highway engineers, but more in accordance with the political exigencies of which the Minister is so much aware.

MR. FROST: That is a complete misunderstanding.

MR. JOLLIFFE: If that is the impression, not only of this Opposition but also of supporters of the government, it cannot be completely unfounded.

I will give only a sentence or two to something which is very important to my mind and, I know, to the minds of many others in this House. Two years ago, a committee of the House produced a report on conservation which, we were told, was to receive consideration by a Cabinet committee. It was a unanimous report. I am aware of the fact that a few of the recommendations in that report have been implemented, particularly in relation to drainage, but I think all members of the House know that very, very few have been implemented. Nor have we been told how much consideration has been given to the other recommendations or what the intentions of the government are with reference to such important matters as Lakeshore erosion, flood control, except for one or two projects, and others. I want to be reasonable about this. I do not want to make a partisan issue in any sense out of it. But I do say that the House and the province expect more from the government than we have yet heard in respect to conservation, particularly when the committee of 1949 were able to produce such a report in unanimity.

The hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) has said that God has given us the earth, the resources thereof, and intelligence. Well, it is only too obvious that we have been given the earth and its

resources. It is not very clear that we have been given the intelligence, as my hon. friend mentioned; not so clear, at least, that we have been given the intelligence to make the best use of the earth and the resources thereof.

Now, the principal purpose of this Session, as we have been told, was to consider pensions legislation. I am obliged to remind the House that, as the Minister is well aware, the neediest people in our population are a group of pensioners at the present time over the age of seventy who are in receipt of no other income and therefore in receipt of the $40. pension. These people, the neediest group of pensioners, will not benefit one five cent piece from the legislation before this House or from the Bill to be passed at Ottawa this Fall. Another needy group, of course, are the incapacitated, to whom the Minister referred yesterday. We welcome the announcement that it is intended to make provision for the incapacitated -- as I understand it, the incapacitated of any age. That is how I understood the Minister's announcement.

MR. GOODFELLOW: From 18 to 65.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Well, that would cover most of them, although the working age, of course, frequently

begins at 16 instead of 18.

MR. GOODFELLOW: They are taken care of under the Mothers' Allowance.

MR. JOLLIFFE: But apart from that, it is long overdue, and we will like it when it comes. I would think that a government that has accumulated more than one hundred million dollars of surplus in the last four years could have done something earlier about it. Perhaps that is too much to expect.

Another very needy group are those who are getting the Workmen's Compensation pension based on earnings in a very different period. We have discussed this in the House before. I have, for example, a case in a letter before me in which a gentleman in Hamilton is told, in a letter from the Workmen's Compensation Board dated April 12th of this year, "On obtaining your particulars I found that you were injured on May 30th, 1915. At that time your wages were $11.00 a week. Your compensation therefore could only be calculated having regard to $11.00 a week."

(Take "D" follows)

" --- your wages at the time of the accident. Also, at that time, compensation was 55 per cent of wages. Your pension for permanent disability worked out at $5.00 a month.

" We regret that the board has no power to increase this pension unless, of course, it can be shown that your disability is greater now than it was in 1915."

The point has previously been made that the Workmen's Compensation Board cannot do anything about this and the basis of compensation cannot be disturbed by requiring the Workmen's Compensation Board to increase such payments, because of the assessment upon which workmen's compensation payments are founded.

If that is so, it is surely the responsibility of the government to make provision for those who are among the neediest victims of inflation.

The "hedge against inflation" to which the hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) made reference, is of no value at all, particularly for one like the man written to in this letter. He has no "hedge against inflation" and, unless the municipality can do something for him, the only place he can look is to the government of Ontario. If inflation is to continue, it is only too clear that the neediest people are the ones who will suffer the most. Farmers can perhaps, through their marketing organizations, struggle to obtain more; workers, through their unions, can battle to obtain

higher wages; business men can have more hope of increasing their takings as prices rise, but not these people on fixed incomes, and not where the income is determined by reference to some period such as 1915.

I am surprised that the government, which may possibly be approaching an election --- one does not know --- could be so indifferent to people who are in the immediate and most helpless positions. Even if the Parliament of Canada were to meet next month and amend Bill No. 395, The Old Age Assistance Act, 1951, to make possible a supplemental or larger payment to people who are in need between 65 and 69, the government across the way could not do anything about it until after our next session, because they have made that impossible by refusing to amend Section 2 of the Bill which was passed yesterday. That surprises me, particularly in view of the fact that the hon. Minister and the hon. Prime Minister have shown as much interest as they have in welfare services, and this whole problem, especially when I concede --- as I do concede--- that they are getting along with other provincial governments and with the Dominion government much better than in former years. I am not disposed to complain if there is better feeling between this government and the government at Ottawa. I did complain when that relation was so acrimonious. I think it is a turn for the better, when a Conservative government can sit down in a more or less friendly way and compromise

with the government -- because these are compromises-- of a different political stripe in Ottawa. I think that is a step forward.

But, at the same time, I do not think the necessity of entering into these negotiations should ever be used as a screen for what is second-best or third best in welfare matters.

Mr. Speaker, I apologize to the House for taking more time than I intended. I still have several points I want to refer to hastily. One of them comes under the heading of "Labour Relations". Certainly the area of labour relations is under a cloud today by reason of lay-offs, and the "short times", which I have already mentioned. That situation is going to lead to more industrial strife in the next year or two than we have had in the past year or two. That is my opinion. There is, I regret to say, a noticeable tendency on the part of the vested interests to attempt to frustrate the will of this Legislature, at least by delay, if not otherwise. That is to be noticed both in the field of labour relations, and in the agricultural field. On the one hand, we have employers going to court to frustrate, defeat or at least delay the processes of the Labour Relations Act and, on the other hand, we have other interests going to the courts in an effort to defeat, or at least delay, the orders of the Milk Control Board. As I see it, it is the same technique, and while I do not think that delay always

means defeat, nevertheless, it is a matter for serious consideration by the government, if the expressed will of the Legislature is to be negated, as it sometimes is, by interminable delays. I do not think that was the intention of the government when the legislation was introduced into this House, and when it was passed, nor of the administrative bodies which have to make the best of the legislation under which they operate.

I hope the government and the law officers of the Crown are giving very serious attention to this matter. I believe it is serious. I do not want to raise difficulties where they do not exist, but may I point out that we have another very important board, vital to the development of this province -- the Municipal Board --- which makes many orders, which can also be hoisted for quite some time, if people are inclined to adopt the technique of delay and interminable litigation. That, too, is a problem which I am sure deserves serious consideration by the government.

I will say no more about that, because these questions are before the courts now, as I understand it. I do wish that the government would take a little more active interest in them.

Speaking of the courts, brings me to the committee of which I have the honour to be a member, the Criminal Justice Committee. I do not know where the hon. Attorney-General (Mr. Porter) has gone to. He cannot be far away. But there are one or two things I

want to say about that committee.

This committee is one on which the government. the C.C.F. and the Liberal party are represented, and, wisely or unwisely, the hon. Attorney-General (Mr. Porter) was made its chairman. I have never hesitated to cross swords with the hon. Attorney-General when I see fit to do so, and, by the same token, I do not hesitate to say so when I think he has tried to be fair, and I think, as chairman of that committee, he has tried to be fair. He has not, from the inception of the committee to this date, made the slightest attempt, as far as I am concerned, to obstruct the progress or the explorations of the committee. I hope he does not change his ways. I will make that reservation.

But, so far, I think every member of that committee will agree --- the hon. member for Cochrane South (Mr. Grummett) is a member of the committee, and the hon. member for Niagara Falls (Mr. Houck) is also a member --- and I think they will agree that anything any of us in the committee have wanted to take up, the hon. Attorney-General has been quite willing to co-operate in taking it up. That is, of course, with the exception of the difficulties about time, but the committee has had the time to proceed with an investigation into the administration of the Attorney-General*s Department, and the provincial police, in a

general way, hearing only from witnesses who are directly connected therewith, and to go into the gambling problem from the point of view of official witnesses, and to go into the little problem we have in connection with the Securities Commission, and the marketing of certain types of securities.

The Committee is to meet again on Monday, October 1st, and I think there are other matters which have to be gone into by the committee, which are of some importance, one of which I will refer to a little later on. I did want to take this opportunity of saying, since there are others who appear to believe otherwise, that so far the committee has received full co-operation from the Attorney-General, and other members of the Attorney-General's Department in any enquiry it has tried to undertake.

The big difficulty, of course, is the time element. Some witnesses who appeared before us we could not seem to dispose of in less than five or six days, and that took a lot of time.

The other matter which I think I should perhaps mention now is this, and I think it is relevant to the work of the Criminal Justice Committee, or it may have some relevancy to that committee.

Before I mention it, perhaps I should say I have just been advised that according to a news broadcast of the B.B.C. - the British Broadcasting Corporation --- it has been announced that the Princess

Elizabeth and her husband will fly from Britain on October 7th, and commence the tour of Canada from Quebec on October 9th. I do not know whether the hon. Prime Minister has heard about this or not, but it was stated in the B.B.C. noon broadcast, which I believe was received just a few moments ago.

The matter to which I wanted to refer was this: during the life of this Legislature, there has not been any great demand for work by the Public Accounts Committee, and when it did meet --- if it did --- I think it was to take up matters of procedure and accounting, rather than matters of any other nature which at some times have interested previous Public Accounts Committees.

But there is one matter which has been brought to my attention which I think should go to the Public Accounts Committee, or possibly, if that is not feasible, then to the Criminal Justice Committee. I do not have full information of this, and I do not pretend to, but any information I do have, I am quite prepared to make available at the proper time and place. I am certainly making no charges against any member of the government, but I do wish the matter to be gone into so that whoever may be responsible is brought to account.

I, and many other hon. members of this House, have frequently visited the district of Temiskaming, and the riding known as Temiskaming, is represented in this House by a C.C.F. member. I visited the place,

and so did the hon. member for St. David (Mr. Dennison).

Recently there has been under way the construction of a fish hatchery in that area, which has been somewhat prolonged, and evidence has been placed before me of a somewhat shocking nature indicating the improper expenditure of public funds in connection with that fish hatchery. This has been brought to my attention very recently. The hon. member for St. David (Mr. Dennison) has gone into it to the best of his ability, and has ascertained that a number of witnesses are now prepared to appear if called upon, and to testify as to what occurred.

I wish to make it very clear that I am not making any charges, but I think it is proper to give notice that the witnesses are available and that information is available, and we shall tender it as soon as it is made, in order to make certain that the facts are established, and if anybody has been guilty of improper conduct, that they shall be held responsible for their actions.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST: That is a matter for the Public Accounts Committee, and there is no doubt about the fullest investigation being made into any matter raised by any hon. member in this House.

MR. JOLLIFFE: I was quite sure the hon. Prime Minister would say that, that he would be quite prepared to let a matter of this kind go to the Public Accounts Committee, so we could get to the bottom of it.

I may say this because I think probably it has not been said before in this House, that in these days the conduct of business by governments has become so complicated, so diversified and so wide-spread that it is inevitable from time to time that dishonest persons should take improper advantage of public funds which may become available to them. I think that sort of thing is inevitable from time to time. I do not think that should be made a major issue in an election, or generally used for political purposes, unless it is found to be the pattern for the conduct of the government. If there was a consistent pattern being followed all the time, it should then, of course, become an issue. But I think when matters of this kind come to the attention of the House that as soon as may be possible, they should be brought into the open and I think the government opposite surely would welcome such an enquiry. I know if I held the seals of office I would certainly want a matter of that kind brought out into the open as frequently as possible and the guilty person or persons punished or receive whatever treat-m ment was proper.

I think that is the proper light in which to place these matters, and I am sure the hon. Prime Minister will welcome the investigation.

There are other things I would have liked to speak about, but I have probably wearied the House by speaking too long already, and I want to give an opportunity to other hon. members to make their contributions in this debate.

As I have said this is a regular session of the Legislature and we are now debating the address in reply. Some of us are greatly disturbed that, on the one hand, we make considerable progress, as I think we did yesterday and, on the other hand, we are reminded of the government*s indifference to those of our people who are in the greatest need.

I am, therefore, concluding my speech today by moving the following motion, seconded by Miss Macphail?

That the Motion for an Address in Reply to the Speech of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor now before the House be amended by adding thereto the following words:

> "But this House, while acknowledging the progress made in relation to Old Age Assistance, regrets the refusal of the Government to give due consideration to the most needy victims of inflation, and in particular its refusal to make any provision for a cost-of-living supplement or adequate health services.@

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. J. G. BROWN (Waterloo, North): Mr. Speaker, in rising to speak in the Debate in Reply to the Speech from the Throne, and in so doing, to represent this group, I want to say how pleased we all are to see you in your accustomed place, and to benefit by your leadership.

I also wish to extend my congratulations to the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) and the hon. member for Simcoe Centre (Mr. Johnston) for their brief but most sincere presentations of this Motion. It is indeed enlightening to the hon. members of this House to see some of the "back benchers" of the government rise to their feet to speak to you.

I have also listened with a great deal of interest to the addresses which was delivered to us this morning from the hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe), and say that, generally speaking, I find myself in agreement with practically everything -- if not everything --- which he has said.

Now, I had intended to speak briefly on the second readings of the Bills which are before the House at the present time, but finding out later that the opportunity was going to be presented to the hon. members of this House to speak on the Throne Address,' I purposely refrained from making any reference to these bills until this time.

I quite appreciate that anything I might have to say in connection with old age business will be in the form of an anti-climax, but I do wish to have them recorded.

We have listened with a great deal of interest, and with a great deal of profit to myself, to many addresses which were delivered here during the first three days of this Session. I only wish to make two or three

observations.

The first one is that we as members of this provincial Legislature at this time should feel we have been privileged --- indeed, that it has been a great honour to be members of His Majesty's government in the province of Ontario at a time when such a far-reaching dose of legislation such as has been discussed here in the last three days will become an accomplished fact.

While the hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) is not in his seat the present time, I would like to extend to him congratulations upon, first of all, the very capable presentation of these two bills, a presentation which I feel was tempered slightly by a quotation from the Windsor Star, which sort of reduced a little bit the high level of the presentation.

I also would like to congratulate other hon. members of the government for the co-operation which most surely has been evident with Ottawa, and members from other provincial governments, in bringing to a conclusion the agreements which have arised at this time.

There is one item on the bill which to me, has not received sufficient recognition, and that is subsection (3) of clause 4, which reads as follows:

> " Assistance is not subject to attachment or seizure in satisfaction of a claim against the recipient. "

It seems to me that this is something which has not only been very expensive, but something which has been most irritating to the people of the province of Ontario, and I think they will receive with wide acclaim this relief.

I cannot let this opportunity go by without expressing my complete agreement with what has been said by, I think, all speakers from this side of the House, when they made reference to the necessity at this time of supplementary assistance to the needy persons in the age group of 65 to 69. Those are the people who are necessarily going to be caught in the squeeze. Many pension plans --- if not all of them -- which are now in effect industrially and commercially, call for the retirement from employment of employees at the age of 65. What we are in effect telling these people is this: "You go out into the world on your own with a maximum assistance from us of $40. a month for a period of five years. And if you are able to survive starvation during that period of time, then a richer reward will be yours, because at age 70, you will be able to go out into the world and earn whatsoever you please, and the Federal government will augment that figure by $40. a month."

TAKE "E" FOLLOWS

Much has been said here, and I do not want to labor it any further, about this province of Ontario being a very wealthy province, and it seems to me that they could very acceptably reduce the qualifying age for this supplementary pension. The Minister of Public Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) brought out a few difficulties which he thought stood in the way, and the chief of which, I think, was that it would be made a political football. Well, I think we have sufficient confidence in the Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) and in his fairness and in his fearlessness to be assured that he would not treat it in that way, and not only that, I am sure that he has enough confidence in the eighty-nine other members of this House to know that we would not attempt to use it as such.

I had not intended at this Session to refer to the matter of Dominion-Provincial relations, particularly so far as they relate to the participation of provincial governments in the income tax field. But in the address which was delivered by the hon. the Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) last Monday he made reference to it, and it seems as though I should pursue it just a little bit further. I will quote from his address as follows:

"I am able to come before this House this

afternoon and make a very startling statement and to tell you of something which I did not believe would have been possible when we were looking ahead in 1947. I am able to say that with an occupation of only a portion of our taxing fields and with the rates which have obtained in Succession Duties and Corporation taxes since 1947, and with no Provincial income tax and no subvention from this source by the Federal Government, that by the 31st of March next we shall have received more money in revenues for those five years than we would have obtained had we rented these fields. In other words, from part of the fields we have occupied, we shall receive more revenue than we would have received under the agreements for the rental of everything."

MR. FROST: That is right.

MR. BROWN: I think reference was also made by the Prime Minister to the effect that I should revise my figures which I have been using, from memory. This has not been recorded in Hansard but I believe that that statement was made. Now I am the last person who would want to use figures which in my opinion did not come from a

reliable source. I have shown tabulations indicating the amount of monies we wo have received had we been in the tax field from 1947 to March of 1952, and have set beside these the figures which we actually did receive. The information was obtained in this way. On the one hand, information from the provincial standpoint, from the public accounts themselves and from the estimates presented by the hon. the Provincial Treasurer (Mr. Frost) , -- both of which, I think, you will agree, would be most reliable; on the other hand, the Federal government, taking the figures from the public accounts of the Dominion government and from the estimates presented by the Deputy Minister of Finance, -- which, I think it will be agreed, are equally reliable.

MR. FROST: Are you referring to official statements made by the Department of Finance?

MR. BROWN: Yes.

MR. FROST: I mean, in the House of Commons?

MR. BROWN: I am referring to the statements which were presented to the members of the provincial governments as they assembled in Ottawa.

MR. FROST: Last December? O.k., that is all right.

MR. BROWN: That is only with regard to the estimated figures for 1951 and for 1952. The figures as I have prepared them are these: that in 1948, under the Federal system, we would have received seventy-five million, under the Provincial system, sixty-six million dollars or, a loss to the province, of nine million dollars. I hasten to make this remark here in fairness to the Provincial Treasurer, that the Provincial government was not in the tax field for all of that year, which would account for the figure being that much lower; but the fact does remain that the province received sixty-six million dollars, and the fact also remains that they would have received seventy-five million dollars had they been in the tax field. For the year 1949, which is the only other year that I can calculate, they were better off by being in the field themselves than if they had been in the rental agreement, because in that year they would have collected seventy-nine million dollars as compared with eighty million dollars which they received on their own financial arrangement.

MR. FROST: May I ask my friend if he has in his estimates a total for the five years that we would have received in gross from the rental payments?

MR. BROWN: According to the estimate as

prepared by Doctor Clark for 1952, as compared with the estimate presented in our last Budget by the Provincial Treasurer, the total amount which would have been received or will be received by March 31 on the basis of these estimates is four hundred and forty-four million dollars as compared with four hundred and eight million dollars under the provincial arrangement.

MR. FROST: You say, four hundred and forty-four million dollars?

MR. BROWN: Right.

MR. FROST: Well, I am a little more generous than that. I figure four hundred and forty-seven million, two hundred and eighty-seven thousand dollars. So you will understand that in making my estimate I am crediting nearly four million dollars more to the Federal side than my friend is, and still I have something to spare.

MR. BROWN: I am very happy to hear the Provincial Treasurer say that. I do not think that there is much difference between the figure that I have and the figure that he has so far as the amount available from the Federal government is concerned. I figure that in 1950 we lost six million dollars; in 1951 we will lose seven million dollars and in 1952, based on the estimate of the Provincial Treasurer on the one hand, and the

estimate of the Deputy Minister of Finance on the other, the loss to the province will be fifteen million dollars. I quite appreciate that in 1952 the revenues from corporation taxes for the province of Ontario will be substantially higher than what was estimated by the Provincial Treasurer. On the other hand we can accept this statement, that the revenues by the Dominion government will also be substantially higher, and I think probably that one will pretty well offset the other.

MR. FROST: I might point out to my friend that the Federal payment which would have been paid this year and up to the 30th of June next year is already fixed. You can calculate that with accuracy. On the other hand, with our revenues that are coming in, that is different; they are current.

MR. BROWN: The point I wish to make is this, that if I am using the wrong figures I want to be corrected. I am making this suggestion to the Provincial Treasurer, that when he speaks he table for Hansard -- and I would like to have a copy of it -- his schedule, in order that I may have an opportunity of comparing the one with the other. I think that so far as the first three years are concerned, and possibly

1951, that is now pretty well established as history and I think we may fairly accept the figures that I have here as being correct.

Dealing with the fiscal policy of the government, there are one or two points which were brought up by the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) when he spoke the other day, one having to do with an increase in corporation taxes from seven to ten percent and the other, a suggestion to the Provincial Treasurer that he immediately impose the personal income tax, which would give the Provincial Treasurer a further seventeen and a half million dollars without it costing the people of the province of Ontario anything. The reason I wish to refer to this here is becauae the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) turned to me and asked me what I thought of the suggestion. Well now, I could probably go along with him in recommending that the corporation taxes for the province of Ontario be increased from seven to ten percent. if I were assured that all of that revenue would come from what he calls "big business". But we must appreciate that, of the thousands of incorporated companies in the province of Ontario, probably not more than ten percent. could be considered, even with the most generous imagination, as

coming in the category of "big business". It seems to me that at the present time the province of Ontario is extracting more corporation taxes than it should from the small corporations. Corporations whose profits are ten thousand dollars a year or less are now paying one-half as much taxes to the province of Ontario as they are to the Dominion government. Might I make this counter-suggestion, that, irrespective of what the Provincial Treasurer might do in raising from seven to ten per cent. the tax on large corporations or corporations whose profits are in excess of ten thousand dollars per year, he consider either one of two things: firstly, to establish an exemption amount for all limited companies, or do as the Federal government has done and tax the small companies at, shall we say, a three per cent rate up to ten thousand dollars of profits, and at a rate of seven to ten per cent, as he sees fit, the other companies.

AN hon. MEMBER: There is a basis for negotiation there.

MR. BROWN: Right. With respect to the exemption of personal income taxes, perhaps we can dispose of that very quickly. Most hon. members will recall that at the Session before last a Bill was passed

through this House authorizing the Treasury to go back into the personal tax field, with the understanding of course that the Federal government would do the collecting of these taxes for us. Now, despite the winning way which the Provincial Treasurer has with government officials at Ottawa, and despite the spirit of co-operation which prevailed there in nearly all of their discussions, we know full well that they shut their eyes and turned their backs on this request and they said, "Get thee behind me, Satan." If you are going to impose personal income taxes we will give you our blessing but you are going to have to collect those taxes yourself. And I can quite imagine that no government of the province of Ontario, unless as a last resort, or unless they have grown tired of office and are prepared to hand over the reins to someone else, will implement the present income tax.

(Take "F" follows)

MR. MacLEOD: What do you think Walter Thompson should do?

MR. BROWN: Oh no; no personal cracks.

I listened with a great deal of interest to what the hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) had to say with respect to housing. It seems to me that this is a subject which should be reviewed. Coming from an urban municipality --- the twin cities of Kitchener and Waterloo -- I want to say that it is very vital to us that something be done to alleviate the cost of building houses for those in the class who can afford a $6,000. to $7,000. home.

MR. FROST: Do you think you could influence somebody to put that second mortgage loan scheme back again?

MR. BROWN: That is what I am coming to.

MR. FROST: Speak to Walter (Mr. Thompson).

MR. BROWN: Well, Walter's (Mr. Thompson) voice in Ottawa is the same as that of George Drew, it is "a voice crying in the wilderness".

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

HON. DANA PORTER (Attorney-General): That is not the only place where he is crying in the wilderness.

MR. OLIVER (Grey,South): That is only your opinion.

MR. BROWN: I am not in support of the Federal government's plan with respect to housing.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. BROWN: I say that emphatically.

MR. PORTER: Could you support it in any respect?

MR. BROWN: I am not in support of their plan with regard to housing. But it seems to me the plan received the unanimous approval of the hon. members of this government, and it seems to me as though they were quite pleased to "get out from under" at that time, in providing second mortgage money to those who wished to build homes.

My reaction is this; that with the spirit of co-operation which exists between the hon. Prime Minister and the Federal government, which is a much greater influence than I would be able to exercise, he should try to get this thing back on the rails again, and that the present system be scrapped, and the old plan again renewed.

MR. FROST: I have always made that advance. In fact, I made it several times, the last one only a few days ago.

MR. OLVER: Does it not help to have some support for it?

MR. FROST: Oh, yes.

MR. BROWN: The next time, you can say you have the unanimous approval of all the hon. members on this side of the house.

MR. FROST: I will have to talk to Walter (Mr. Thompson).

MR. OLIVER: That will do you good.

MR. BROWN: That would be more enlightening. But I say, in all seriousness, that is something which should be receiving the consideration of this government. The plan for the municipalities to pay 7½ per cent of the purchase price of property seems to be bogging down; they are not taking advantage of it, and under the present scheme, the individual who wishes to build a house for himself must raise more money than he is capable of raising as a down payment. Many of them are quite prepared to take the risk involved in building such a house as I have mentioned, if the down payment were less.

Now, the hon. Leader of the Oppposition (Mr. Jolliffe) referred to the St. Lawrence Seaway. We hear a good deal about this project, but as the late Will Rogers said, "All we ever hear is what we read in the papers "

No doubt we will be getting a progress report on this project from the hon. Prime Minister when he speaks. As I see it now, it is to be a joint project between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec and the Federal government, but now, as we read in the papers this morning, probably the United States will participate in the scheme. The hon. Prime Minister may be able to enlighten us on that, as well.

But it does seem to me that the government of the province of Ontario should lend every support to the

Federal government in the completion of this project, at the earliest possible time.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is all I have to say at the present time. The hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe)presented to you an amendment to the Motion for a Reply to the Address delivered by his Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, and all the hon. members of this House who have spoken have signified their agreement with the contents of this amendment, and we from this group intend to support it.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: It is ten minutes to one. I think I might ask your permission to rise and reassemble at two o'clock.

MR. MacLEOD: And divide the afternoon between us.

MR. FROST: That will give the Opposition a further opportunity to be-labour this government.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Mr. Speaker, I move the adjournment of the Debate.

Motion agreed to.

MR. SPEAKER: It being one of the clock, I do now leave the chair.

The House took recess.

- - - -

2:00 p.m.

The House resumes.

Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

MR. ALEXANDER A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Mr. Speaker, I realize that the out-of-town members at least are at this moment far more concerned with meeting a train schedule than they are likely to be with anything that I am about to say. However, we have a whole afternoon before us. The Prime Minister (Mr. Frost), I understand, is not going to say very much. He had not intended to say anything at all until we insisted.

MR. FROST: You might incite me into making a speech.

MR. MacLEOD: As long as you do it on your own time.

I want to begin by complimenting my good friend the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) on the excellence of the second address that he has delivered in the House to my knowledge in the past eight years. The first address that we heard from the hon. member for Stormont back in 1944 was a most commendable performance, so much so that there were invitations from this side of the House to cross over

to the other side. Perhaps that made him feel that in future he had better keep quiet or he might talk himself out of the Party. He was pressed into service the second time and he came dangerously close to talking himself out a second time. If he keeps on thinking --

AN hon. MEMBER: He will.

MR. MacLEOD: -- as he himself proposed this morning, he may have to build a bridge and cross over to this side of the House. But we like the hon. member for Stormont very well and we hope that such thinking as he may do in the coming months will not get him into too much trouble.

Then of course we were very glad indeed, all of us, to hear the maiden effort of the hon. member for Simcoe, Centre (Mr. Johnston). He has been here for some years and we have never had the pleasure or privilege of hearing him before. I mention that not to suggest that there was anything extraordinary about the hon. member for Simcoe Centre not speaking at earlier Sessions, because in my opinion you do not have to make a speech or a half a dozen speeches every Session in order to be a good member of this House. I feel very sure that the hon. member for Simcoe Centre is a very good representative of that riding.

MR. FROST: Hear, hear!

MR. MacLEOD: We feel sure he must have taken very good care of the needs of his constituents or they would not have sent him back here in three consecutive elections. They have had eight years to think it over. If they should decide to attempt an improvement on their representation we hope, knowing the hon. member as we do, that if somebody replaces him, he will be as good as or better than the present member.

We are meeting here under rather unusual circumstances. There is an air of uncertainty about things. There is a lot of speculation and there is, I am sure, great anticipation of what the Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) may say this afternoon. Perhaps we should have started this debate by rising in our places and singing, "Just Before the Battle, Mother".

For what it is worth, I have been suggesting to various hon. members that my friend the Prime Minister has two speeches all ready, sealed in envelopes. One of these speeches is marked "Go", and the other speech is marked "Whoa"; and the Minister for Municipal Affairs (Mr. Dunbar) is prepared to make an appropriate response to either.

HON. G. H. DUNBAR (Ottawa South): Did you ever

see me not ready? I come back, too.

MR. MacLEOD: If it should be the latter, I suggest that the Prime Minister either this afternoon or on some appropriate occasion perhaps in the Bellwoods-St.Andrew area to-night, or some other time when he has a good enthusiastic Tory audience in front of him -- will rise and in the course of his speech say, "Well now, ladies and gentlemen, there has been a great deal of speculation about an election in this province. Rumours of an impending election have come chiefly from the opposite side of the House. Most of the prophecies are coming from the lips of our old friend Slip-Along-Catastrophe. So," the Prime Minister will say, "the time has come to clear the air. This government which I am privileged to lead has but a single thought and that is to serve the interests of this great expanding province of ours. This government does not concern itself with such petty, small questions as mere continuation in office. The record of this government speaks for itself. Look what we have done. Look what we have done for this province. Take the Department of Education. Look at the Minister of Education (Mr. Porter) and the things he has done for the people of Ontario."

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. MacLEOD: Just look at the Attorney General (Mr. Porter).

MR. PORTER: Hear, hear!

MR. MacLEOD: Just look at him. He did not recognize himself as Minister of Education; he only drew the limelight when we referred to the second title.

So compliments on the achievements of this government will fly thick and fast. He will point to the Minister of Municipal Affairs (Mr. Dunbar); he will say, "Look at the Minister of Municipal Affairs; in one breath he can offer five thousand dollars to Cobalt, in the next breath he can take it back again, and in the next breath he can hand it back again."

MR. DUNBAR: That is why we are so elastic.

MR. MacLEOD: Yes; I will say, what better example could you have of flexibility than that? And then, "Where do the rumours of an election come from? From this absentee leader of that little remnant which calls itself the Modern Liberal Democracy." Its garrulous Leader is going up and down this province indulging in wild speculations and making irresponsible promises; promising houses, promising this, that and the other thing. He is the man who talks about an election in the province of Ontario."

Then the Prime Minister will say, "Let us settle it once and for all. This government has until 1953 before it is obliged to go to the country. This government has delegated certain responsibilities to Select Committees of the Legislature which have not yet had an opportunity to complete their work, and this government has a big program of activity to carry out before it will be obliged to go to the people for a new mandate; and so there will be no election in the province of Ontario in 1952." Now, that is the "Whoa" speech.

The "Go" speech will be just a slight variation. He will say, "The government has no intention of calling an election. The government has been busy only in serving old man Ontario and his children, but - but - Mr. Thompson and Mr. Jolliffe and the member for Bellwoods are going around churning up the people, getting them excited about a possible election; and perhaps, all things considered, the best way to clear the air and enable the province to settle down to contentment and stability will be to go to the people and ask for a verdict." I think it is going to happen something like that.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Like which?

MR. MacLEOD: That is about the kind of speech that will be made.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Which one?

MR. MacLEOD: It will certainly be one or the other. It will be either "Whoa" or "Go"; and all I can say is, "Woe unto you if you decide to go."

MR. JOLLIFFE: Hear, hear!

MR. MacLEOD: Of course it would be rather extraordinary if, in the light of what we witnessed and listened to in this House early this spring, when the Prime Minister of Ontario (Mr. Frost) and the Attorney General of Ontario (Mr. Porter) took it upon themselves to rest and stake the future of this government on the findings of a committee that they set up to investigate the administration of justice in this province, and that Committee, of course, having been ambling along, as we would expect it to amble along, under the Chairmanship of the Attorney General ---

MR. FROST: There was no such statement as that at all. The fact of the matter is that these committees were set up to give to the members and the people the fullest of information; and they have been sitting for months; and there is no sign of anything that is wrong in any way, shape or form. That is only

in accordance with the policy of this government to give the people and the members the facts.

MR. MacLEOD: You are trying to make that speech on my time. I say that is not the case at all; that this Committee was set up under rather unusual circumstances. Certain statements were made by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) to which this government took exception, and the government challenged the Leader of the Opposition to move a motion calling for the setting up of a Select Committee to investigate the administration of justice in this province. As a result of this debating across the floor the Prime Minister and the Attorney General decided to take the ball away from the Leader of the Opposition and said, "You are going to get more than you bargained for. We are really going to get into this thing, and we are going to give this Committee the widest terms of reference, and the people of this province are going to have the opportunity to hear the report of that Committee." That is what was said. It is all in Hansard; anybody can read it. And now it is being suggested publicly that this Committee and the Rentals Committee are going to be scuttled in mid-passage and they are not going to have the opportunity to complete their work. I want to say that, in my judgment at least, the people of this

province would find it very difficult to understand the reason why a government would try to tamper with or interfere with an investigation which got under way as a result of the government's own initiative. I will tell you that if you do anything like that, you are headed for trouble, as sure as sure, --

MR. FROST: You would not want us to get into trouble, would you?

MR. MacLEOD: -- and that is the last thing in the world I would wish for the Prime Minister of Ontario. I have been trying to keep him out of trouble for nine years. So let us not spoil it. Look before you leap and think before you act.

Of course this election talk cannot be attributed only to the Opposition side of the House. We have noticed a surprising amount of activity in the Government party: nominating conventions being held, hockey teams being robbed of their stars in order to get star performers for the Tory party. As a matter of fact, as I read these stories in the press of all these hockey players and others who are being nominated I sort of get the feeling that perhaps the Government would be going to the country with a severe case of athlete's foot to add to all its other infirmities.

I notice that "Turk" has decided to stay in the nets. He would rather be in the nets than on the open ice, and perhaps he has been told not to stick his neck out. At any rate we will hear about this matter in due course either here or elsewhere. The announcement that was made to-day about the change of dates for the Royal visit would certainly interfere with an election on the 7th of November. I cannot believe that the Prime Minister, one of our outstanding patriotic citizens, would want to have this province in the turmoil of an election campaign when the Princess and her Consort were visiting in this province.

I want to deal with one or two matters which were not, perhaps, dealt with very fully by those who have preceded me. I had intended to say something about housing, but the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) dealt rather fully with that subject. I would merely repeat what I said in the House earlier this year, that in my judgment it is high time that this government, which made solemn commitments to the people of Ontario in 1943, assume the responsibility for getting under way in Ontario, a real house building program. I suggest that in the spring Ontario should begin at once a five-year housing program which would give us twenty-five thousand low-rental subsidized homes in this province

every year for the next five years. I believe my friend the Minister of Planning and Development (Mr. Griesinger) has admitted on occasion that Ontario in fact needs two hundred thousand homes. Somebody told me that.

HON.W.GRIESINGER (Minister of Planning and Development): Where are you going to get the money to subsidize that program?

MR. MacLEOD: Where are you going to get the money? Well, why didn't you ask that question in 1943?

MR. GRIESINGER: We never said anything about subsidizing.

MR. MacLEOD: Oh yes; you said you were going to set up a housing commission to launch a great home-building and slum clearance program. That was in July, 1943, and you have not done a single solitary thing about it. This government has not built a single house or put a roof over anybody's head. It is about time you tackled that problem and did something about it.

My friend the Minister of Planning and Development who interrupts or asks foolish questions, said in 1949 that it was going to be possible for people to build their own homes without any down payment and at a cost of about seven or eight

thousand dollars. Did you not say that?

MR. GRIESINGER: It was correct at that time.

MR. MacLEOD: You are like a railway schedule, subject to change without notice.

MR. GRIESINGER: You do a lot of talking when you do not know what you are talking about.

MR. MacLEOD: You have not done anything about housing. I do not think you have any thought in mind of tackling that problem. I don't think you know the first thing about it; and you have obviously forgotten what you promised to do for the people of Ontario. Now all the people who know are warning us that in a year or two the housing crisis in the province of Ontario is going to be worse than it was at the termination of the Second World War. I say that this government has a responsibility, although perhaps not all the responsibility. With all this good will and understanding that have come into being between Queen's Park and Ottawa you should be able to contribute something towards the fulfilment of this obligation and the development in the province of Ontario of a housing scheme which will give homes to people who need them and in particular will provide houses for those young couples who are being married by the hundreds every year in this province.

I suggested last year that this government should appoint a royal commission on the conservation of human resources to cover the field of mental health, care for the aged, juvenile delinquency, and other related problems. The Minister of Health (Mr. Phillips) delivered a speech here last year which must have shocked every citizen of Ontario who read it. It was a confirmation, with revised statistics, of a subject matter that I had dealt with in this House for a number of years. But the government is just moving along at a snail's pace in coming to grips with these problems. There are thousands of cases of crippled and mentally retarded children in this province who require admission to hospitals, and all I am able to get from my friend the Minister of Health is an assurance that in the fulness of time it may be possible to take care of them.

(Take "BB" follows)

But all I am able to get from my friend the Hon. Minister of Health (Mr. Phillips) is an assurance that in the fullness of time it may be possible to take care of that. That is the situation.

The Hon. Minister told us only recently that the rate of mental illness is rising, and I am quite convinced in my own mind that the Department of Health in this Province has no adequate plan or scheme for meeting that problem, and that is why I have urged on many occasions that this whole matter be opened up for public discussion, as this involves the public of Ontario, and organizations interested in this and other social problems, to the end that we may be able to get at some of the causes. We know what some of them are, but there may be others, in connection with this increase in mental illness. I feel that would be a good thing for the Province of Ontario.

I have also had something to say last year and in previous years about the alienation of the ore and other mineral resources of this Province to external interests, chiefly American or United States interests.

I was very much interested to receive a copy of an address delivered recently at Calgary -- on the 17th of September, to be exact -- by Mr. F. J.

Lyle, Director of the Ontario Trade and Industry Branch of the Department of Planning and Development, at the annual conference of the Provincial Government's Trade and Industry Council. Mr. Lyle made a very fine address which dealt in part with the development of our natural resources, and the processing of the finished product in Canada. I want to quote a paragraph or two from that speech, because it fits in very well with some statements I have made earlier this year and in previous Sessions. Mr. Lyle said:

> "A ton of iron ore, mined in Canada and sold to a foreign steel company, brings Canada a revenue of about $10.00. When the same ton of ore is smelted in Canada and turned into a wide range of steel products -- as a great deal is -- it makes about half a ton of such common household products as nails, screws, coathangers, etc.
>
> So used, this ton of Canadian ore becomes Canadian manufactured products with a retail value ranging from $80.00 to $90.00. It takes no wide stretch of the imagination to calculate the benefits to Canadians from the translation of our raw materials into

end-use products.

In the simple illustration just mentioned, the gain is at least $70 per ton of ore -- a sum that finds its way into a great many pockets and benefits Canadian workmen, wholesalers, retailers and consumers. With iron ore, as with all our treasure in materials, it will probably be necessary to go on exporting large amounts in raw or semi-finished form. Many of our best customers abroad have invested huge sums to develop our resources for the express purpose of securing for themselves continuing sources of supply.

But as Canadians, we are quite within our rights in reserving for ourselves an adequate share of these same materials. And we will be doing less than our duty to ourselves and our sons if we fail to press vigorously a program of more complete manufacture -- right across the board."

That is the end of the quotation from Mr. Lyle's speech. That, of course, is very much in line with some of the things I said last year, things which were also said by the hon. member who sits on my right (Mr. Cox).

We pointed out last year that over a period of ten or fifteen years, the province of Ontario had shipped wood pulp and pulpwood to the United States to the tune of one hundred and thirty million dollars, but, as we pointed out a year ago, the Dominion of Canada was buying from the United States one hundred and thirty million dollars worth of wood products, manufactured from the raw materials shipped from Ontario to the United States.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it may be asked why should a member from a Toronto urban riding spend time discussing a matter of this kind. I will tell you why. I represent a very populace constituency. There are from 75,000 to 100,000 people living in Bellwoods.

MISS MacPHAIL: There are one hundred thousand electors in York East.

MR. MacLEOD: Yes. Of course, that means that we have thousands of children in our grade schools, and our technical and collegiate schools, and we have many people from my riding who are going to the University. The parents of these children want their children to become doctors, lawyers, scientists, engineers, electricians, and what-have-you. There is very close connection between the future of the children in the riding of Bellwoods and what is done in this Province

to further our technological developments. If we really come to grips with the problem of manufacturing more of the end products in the Province of Ontario, that is going to increase and enhance the opportunities of those who want to enter such professions as I have mentioned. So the question of the steel industry, for instance, at the head of the Lakes, is not only a matter which concerns the people who live at the head of the Lakes; it is a matter of concern to all the people in the Province of Ontario.

I suggest to the Hon. Prime Minister that instead of feeling so elated when some American comes in here to Eastern Ontario or North-Western Ontario, to gain possession of ore deposits, he should feel, rather, a sense of regret that insufficient is being done in this Province of ours to extend and expand our own steel industry so that we can give more employment to the sons of Ontario families.

The Hon. Prime Minister, of course, does speak very expansively of the great future which lies ahead of the Province of Ontario. And with that we agree. But may I suggest a few of the possibilities, but which will only be possible if this Government does something now to make certain that we arrive at our destination.

I say the Government of to-day -- and certainly the Department of Planning and Development -- is doing nothing about it. The Hon. Minister of Planning and Development (Mr. Griesinger) in the Province of Ontario, as far as I am concerned, is simply oblivious to the obvious.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. MacLEOD: He is not even conscious of what he should be doing to come to grips with that problem. He is not disturbed when the boats of "Jimmy" Dunn are carrying off great quantities of ore to the United States, when some of them should be employed, taking the wheat from Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, down to the seaboard for sale in the markets of the world.

The Government, I suggest, has a responsibility for tackling this problem. The Government seems to be highly satisfied with the situation at the head of the Lakes to-day, where our wealth is being pumped under the river to the United States. They do not seem to be in the least alarmed over the fact that for every job the Ontario forests provide for Canada, they provide three or four jobs for Americans on the other side of the line. That is the situation. That has been said many times before. All you have to do is to look. Go across the river and you will see scores and scores of

mills operating on a twenty-four hour schedule with the raw materials from Canada, where we are employing only a few hundred people on our side of the line. And we have the situation in Windsor, where, when we pick up our newspapers, we read where American firms are employing these people who were laid off in Windsor by the thousands.

The Hon. Prime Minister is going to undoubtedly say something about the St. Lawrence Seaway. I do not think anybody in this House is opposed to the building of the Seaway. I think all of us who really believe that Ontario has a future would go so far as to say that Ontario should do the whole job itself, if necessary. But that has to be part of a prospective, of a policy and a plan, looking forward to the greater developments which the resources of this Province make possible. What is the use of spending two hundred million dollars of the Ontario taxpayers' money to open up more supply lines to take the wealth of Canada to the United States? I do not consider that a sound investment at all, because they are doing very well now.

The hon. member for Stormont (Mr. McDonald) said this morning that God has given us the great resources. That is quite true. We are giving them to the United States.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. MacLEOD: I do not think there is much gratitude in that.

Of course, the Hon. Prime Minister would say that they will come to these things "in the fullness of time." That is the Tory mind.

I received a little brochure in the mail about a year ago from the Maritime Provinces -- Angus L's -- which says:

"Calling for the construction of the Chignecto Canal, 1686 - 1950".

The campaign for the completion of the Chignecto Canal began away back in 1686, and the sponsoring committee has issued a little publication commemorating this long-standing effort which has brought no results.

Last year I was down in Sydney Mines, and I met a lady where from Newfoundland, and we were discussing this canal, and she said, in her Newfoundland way:

"At that rate they'll never lay her now;

she'll have to grow."

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. MacLEOD: And so is it in the Province of Ontario. I fear that many of these things which should be done, will never be done under the leadership of this Government at all. It will simply have to grow. I would like to hear the Hon. Prime Minister say something about that. He is a man of vision. If he was travelling in better company and not surrounded by such reactionary people, he has the gifts and attributes which fit him to make a leader of the nation, certainly a better leader of the Tory Party at Ottawa than George Drew. There might be a chance that they might "make it" with him.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

MR. MacLEOD: I cannot tell.

But the Hon. Prime Minister is very cautious. When he spoke about old-age pensions here to-day, he said,"Well, after all, we had better absorb what we have already undertaken." He spoke of this four hundred million dollars it is going to cost for old-age pensions. When it comes to sicial security and the expenditure of money for that purpose, the Hon. Prime Minister always gags, as if his Conservative nature and outlook were

outraged. He does not seem to be concerned about the fact that in the next three years this country will spend five billion dollars on an armament program. That is a lot of money. You know, Mr. Speaker, that the amount Canada is going to spend in the armament race in the next five years is in excess of what the entire world was spending on armament in 1936. That shows you where we are heading. The amount of money we are going to spend on armaments in the next three years is the equivalent of one dollar for every minute which has ticked on the clock since the angels sang, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and goodwill to men." Let the accountants figure that out; one dollar for every minute since Jesus was born in Nazareth. Of course, there would be some difference of opinion in this House as to why that is necessary. We could debate that, but surely there could be no disagreement in this House --

MR. FROST: Who does the hon. member (Mr. MacLeod) say is spending that money?

MR. MacLEOD: The Dominion Government, with the contribution of seventeen million, five hundred thousand dollars a year from you, which you should be using in Ontario.

I say there may be differences of opinion as to the reason why this money is being spent, but surely there should be no difference of opinion that there is some way that will have to be found to raise the money for this largest armament race that is going on in the world to-day.

I said to the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) the other night, that in a certain sense -- not entirely -- that conflicts and disagreements within nations are but the embodiment of conflicts and disagreements in the world.

Frankly, as one who sat in this House in 1945, I would not believe I would be sitting here in the House to-day and listening to the Hon. Prime Minister on the Government bench talking about "understanding" and "goodwill" with Ottawa. What did we hear in those days? We heard the Prime Minister of Canada being called "yellow"; we heard the Prime Minister of Canada being called, "contemptible"; we heard on platform after platform villification and slander of the leaders of the Government at Ottawa. That day has gone. A way has been found to sit down and discuss problems and to reach agreements which are beneficial for the people of Canada. Now I think we have reached

in this armament race which constitutes such a crushing burden of taxes on the backs of men and women everywhere so that common sense has to intervene.

I think it was Tennyson who said:

"The common sense of most shall hold the fretful realm in awe."

We cannot continue as we are going to-day, and some way has to be found to break the vicious circle; some way has to be found to impress upon governments the world over, that people want to substitute negotiations and reason for the use of force, and I do not care who is using it anywhere in the world. We have to get back to the around-the-table discussions, and work problems out on the basis of agreements, or else we face inevitably disaster for ourselves and for our children.

I noticed the other day --and I will be through in a minute -- that in the time of Julius Caesar it cost seventy-five cents to kill a man; in World War I, it costs $21,000, and in World War II it cost $75,000. Somebody is making quite a profit. Surely there is a connection between the profits made in the armament business and the fact that every time the word "peace" is mentioned, the price of steel goes down on the market. You have to think about these things. The

province of Ontario to-day is certainly feeling the effect of this five-billion-dollar armament program, and I suggest that it is high time the Government of Ontario, the hon. members of this Legislature, and the people of Ontario should make their voices heard on the urgency and necessity of saying to the Government at Ottawa, "Take some positive steps which will lead in the restoration of peace to the world."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I must say in conclusion that I am extremely sorry that the Government has turned a deaf ear to the pleas which were made in this House for a payment of ten dollars by way of supplement to the old-age pensions in this Province. I do not expect that the Government will change its mind. The Government remains very cold-hearted and callous, in my opinion, to the plight of hundreds of thousands of men and women who have served this Province well.

I received a letter this morning from Arnprior, Ontario, which I think is worth reading. It says:

> "I was very glad to see in a Toronto paper a petition for increasing the old-age pension. I am a widow, sixty-seven years old, and I have no money. I am writing to thank you for helping the old folks. I had to walk a mile

and a half down the road this morning to sell two coke bottles, to get money to buy a stamp to mail this letter."

And there are hundreds of letters of that kind coming in every day. Think of a woman sixty-seven years of age who is so destitute that the only way she can get postage to mail a letter lending her support to the efforts for old-age pensions, is to walk a mile and a half and collect the money for two coke bottles at a country store, in order to buy the stamp. I would like the Hon. Prime Minister to ponder over that a bit.

I notice that the Government is very willing to suggest things that Ottawa could do to make a little easier the lot of the people. I notice the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) favours a Federal subsidy for basic foods, according to the Globe & Mail of September 14th. Well, if the Government is sufficiently alarmed over the shortages of these things for the people of Ontario, and if Ottawa turns a deaf ear, and refusea to do anything about it, is there any reason why the Government of Ontario should not proceed to provide a subsidy for milk? I have heard nobody in the Liberal group mention that. Walter Thompson did come out in favour of a subsidy, but I have forgotten the amount. Why does not the Hon. Minister of Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow)

and the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) say to Ottawa, "Our people must have milk; the consumption of milk is dropping down alarmingly, because the price is going up; the Province of Ontario is prepared to match cent for cent or dollar for dollar, anything that Ottawa is prepared to pay." Are you prepared to do that as an investment in the health of the children in Ontario? Or are you prepared to provide a free half-pint of milk for every school-child in the Province of Ontario? That will only cost a few million dollars. That will help improve the rising price of milk throughout this Province.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, everything said this afternoon has been said a good many times before, and judging from past experience, I guess there is no reason to hope that we will get very much consideration from the other side of the House. The Government is satisfied it is doing all that it should do. The Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) says the Government is proud of its record, and is prepared to submit that record to the people at any time, and anything that is wrong in the Province of Ontario, any inconvenience, any need which exists here, is, according to his point of view, the responsibility of some body else. That, of course is quite a change from a few years ago when we

had sort of an Ontario Republic, with an iron curtain around it and a barbed wire fence -- why, it was even wrong for Ottawa to pay family allowances in 1944. Now, somebody else is responsible for Ontario and the needs of its people.

I suggest to you when the time comes to take this matter to the people of this Province, you will receive a big surprise. I think that your confidence in the outcome of an appeal on the basis of what you have either done or failed to do, is a little misplaced to-day, and I simply want to say that as far as we are concerned, there are prepared and ready to debate and discuss, the record of this Government in the two ridings represented by the hon. member for St.Andrew (Mr. Salsberg) and myself. It matters not whether you decide to hold an election on the 7th of November, or the 7th of June, or the 7th of next August. I think that instead of feeling so puffed up, and so proud of yourselves, you ought to just remember that at a time when you have millions of dollars at your disposal, -- according to my computation, in the current year something like seventy-seven million five hundred thousand dollars, upon which you can lay your hands -- with all that revenue at your disposal, you refuse to invest a few million dollars to repair the health and

restore the morale of hundreds of thousands of aged people in this Province.

Instead of paying attention to the health and welfare of the people of Ontario, this Government, for the last few months at least, has spent most of its time sending its ministers throughout the province repairing the political fences of the Government. That is what you have been doing, and when the time comes, you will get the reaction of the people to the cold indifference you have shown regarding their welfare.

The agreement was that we adjourn at four o'clock and that gives the Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Frost) about fifty-five minutes to unload all the wisdom that is on his mind. I will only say, with respect to the amendment, that we agree with it in principle, but we think it is a bit vague, and that it could be made a bit more specific, and when the moment comes, I shall move a slight amendment which I am sure will be acceptable to the Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Jolliffe) and to the leader of the group to my right (Mr. Oliver).

(Page BB-18 follows)

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, as I said at the outset of this Session, it was not my intention on this occasion to make a speech -- if I may put it that way -- but a great deal has been said here since ten-thirty this morning, which tends to incite me to make a speech.

I listened with great care and with greater interest to everything which has been said here, and may I say that I have never heard the Opposition in a gloomier state of mind than they are here on this very day. The words of gloom by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition, continued by the representative of the Liberal group, who spoke about "a voice crying in the wilderness", and then concluded by the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod), who spoke so gloomily about this Province, and its great future; how things were generally "going to pot", and how we were engaged in war-like activities which are not in the line of the thinking in this country, -- these are the courses of the speeches I have heard to-day.

MR. MacLEOD: You might at least quote me accurately.

(Take "CC" follows)

MR. FROST: After all, in this great country of ours, with all its possibilities, I like people to talk optimistically -as they should talk in this land of ours- and I can only advise my friends of the Opposition that they have given the people of Ontario the very best reason, when the time comes, to return them here in reduced numbers.

MR. HARRY WALTERS (Bracondale): The wish is father to the thought!

MR. FROST: We will come to that later. I would like to conclude in the time I stated, and I promise to do so.

A number of points, and very interesting ones, have been raised by the Opposition, and to these I shall refer. At the outset I should like to allude to the concluding note of the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) in connection with the international situation and the position of our country. In doing so, I might say that I think what he said was quite irrelevant to the Speech from the Throne. Nevertheless, as he has raised it, and there is the possibility of him raising amendments in connection with it, I might just say first of all that we of this House are people of peace. No doubt about that. I want to say for myself, sir, that I am a man of peace.

MR. McLEOD: I believe that.

MR. FROST: I had my own experiences in the First World War. After these experiences I would never wish for another human being that it should be his lot to be thrown into such experiences. I want to say further that I am satisfied that the Prime Minister of this country is a man of peace. I do not believe that Mr. St. Laurent or his followers are men of warlike intent. They are not; they are men of peace. But what my friend has said concerning peace, concerning the expenditures of Canada, and concerning the backing which I think this House would give to the Canadian government in the present situation is only calculated to create a misapprehension as to the objectives of this Nation. After all, we are not arming and re-arming for the purposes of waging war, but to protect our way of life and to make it possible that our way of life may be extended to other countries which at the present time are not so privileged as ourselves.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. FROST: That is our position. There may be references in my remarks to rearmament and to the effects of rearmament upon us here in Ontario. I am steadfastly of the opinion that the Federal Government is taking the

right and indeed the only course in connection with rearmament. I have been much impressed with the attitude of the people of the old land, and of Mr.Attlee's government. When I read Mr. Gaitskell's statement that they were resolved to protect the democratic way of life in the United Kingdom and in the world, and that to do so they have nine hundred thousand men under arms and are straining their economy to the limit, I have nothing but admiration for them. Indeed I feel that a government such as that led by Mr. Attlee would not do what they are doing if the dangers were not very grave and acute.

MR. W.J.GRUMMETT (Cochrane South): That is right.

MR. FROST: I do not want anything that I may say to lead this House to believe that we would do anything to divide our Nation's effort in these days of very great danger and difficulty; and I say again that what these people are doing, men and women, regardless of political party, is to ensure peace, not to bring on wars in the world.

I have noted here a number of matters that my friends have referred to, and I shall go over them very hurriedly. I think the answers are really plain to my friends opposite, and I am satisfied that if they would

go out into the sunshine and look around them, their pessimism would be dispelled and they would feel that many of their gloomy forecasts were not justified.

As regards housing and credits, I think they pretty well run together. I must say that I have been mystified by the actions of the Federal government in that regard. I notice that there seems to be approval of that statement, even over there "in the wilderness". On the one hand, there is the argument, such as we heard the other night, against any control. But what is the present direction of credit but a control, and with the most far-reaching results in this country of ours? As a matter of fact we are faced with credit controls which very adversely affect our housing position, the matter of employment in certain parts of our land, and, certainly, the financing of this and other provinces and of the municipalities across this country. I must admit, sir, that I find it very difficult to follow the reasoning which seeks to show that we have in this country very large sums of dollars chasing -- it is argued -- too few goods and driving up the prices and values of goods, so that it is necessary to drain off some of these dollars, yet because certain things are definitely controlled this and other provinces and the municipalities are being

driven into the New York market to get money. I must admit that I cannot follow the reasoning there. I do not think it is good. And I think that in these difficult days, in face of the needs of rearmament and the requirements of our country in matters of expansion, we must face up to these problems. I will say that existing controls are causing unemployment in parts of this province and elsewhere in Canada.

To come directly to the matter of housing -- because I have only a few minutes -- let me point out that in this province by the end of last year, we were up to about the thirty-five thousand mark. It is true that we had shortages of material, but we about reached the thirty-five thousand mark and towards the end of last year I stated that we should be up to about fifty thousand sometime at the end of 1951. How are we to put these things together: the concentrations of population that will be created by the growing industry of this province, representing a population increase of ten thousand a month, and the restrictions on housing and on credits with which to build houses? I should think that the solution must first be looked for with a definite approach to the control and management of materials that go into houses. It seems to me that it would be possible to go to our manufacturers and ask them to give priority to the manufacture of, say, certain

classes of furniture, certain classes of plumbing, and of other articles which go into houses, so that a standard type of housing equipment would be available. Combined with this, the restoration of the one-sixth mortgage advance,which reduces the down-payment, and the relaxation of credits through the banks, to enable builders to go ahead; under those conditions I am satisfied that we could promise the people of this province at least fifty thousand houses a year. Combined with that, of course, would be our own proposals for rental housing, in which we are prepared to go up to twenty-five thousand units, and we have started off with five thousand units as a pilot plant project.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is impossible from the standpoint of public participation alone to meet the needs of this province, and, indeed, I agree with my colleague the Minister of Planning and Development (Mr. Griesinger) that it would be undesirable. The more we can encourage people to build and own their own houses and homes, the better.

I was interested in what my friend from North Waterloo (Mr. Brown) said about the "voice crying in the wilderness."

MR. A. CHARTRAND (Ottawa, East): You have some crying over there, too.

MR. FROST: That voice has been crying from the wilderness -- in the words, I think,,of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", from a hundred distant points. That is, a hundred and eight. Or something like that.

MR. OLIVER: And so far ahead that you will never catch up.

MR. FROST: He should not find it necessary to cry from a hundred and eight or a hundred and nine different points in this province. All he has to do is to stand up in his place in the House of Commons, where he was elected to represent his people, and demand that these things be done.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. SALSBERG: That applies to your supporters. Remember that.

MR. FROST: Wait till I am through, and you will come over and join us; you will be so glad to.

In hurrying along I should like to refer for a moment to highways and to say this, that this government, through its Minister of Highways (Mr. Doucet) has been for a number of years carrying on a very great program. I can say this, after the eight years that the Minister has presided over that Department; there are

no political contracts, there is only business, which has been continued throughout in the best interests of the people of this province. That is a pretty good record.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. FROST: Some comment has been made about "piecemeal developments" in this province. I am not sure whether it was my friend from Waterloo North who mentioned that.

MR. JOLLIFFE: No, I did.

MR. GRUMMETT: "Bits and pieces".

MR. FROST: Let me say to him there; supposing you represented one of the ridings that is awaiting great developmental work. There are ninety in this province. You may come from Kenora or you may come from the Renfrews, or you may come from the Simcoes, or some other place. After all, in a land such as this, when you go to a place you find that that place regards itself as being the most important in the province; and so it is, to the people who live there. My friend from South Grey (Mr. Oliver) goes to Chatsworth; the people of Chatsworth say that theirs is the finest community in the province. That attitude is found in a

thousand places to which one goes across this province, and it is right. I ask him, what would you do? Would you concentrate all the works in 1951 in one riding, and then next year move over to another riding, and let the people of South Grey figure that they would be reached about the year 1975?

MR. OLIVER: It looks like that now.

MR. FROST: I happened to be in my friend's riding not long ago -- and I wasn't there on political business either -- and I never saw the roads in such good shape.

MR. OLIVER: Well, I built them.

MR. FROST: What I have said is true across this province. Far and wide over the province you will find mighty improvements in road conditions, and those not only on the big highways that take the fast traffic, but in places where the "mill-run" of our people live, -- snow-plowed roads, better road conditions.

I might say as Treasurer I often look back to the first year that I brought in a Budget, eight or nine Budgets ago, and the time when we provided three million dollars for municipal roads. My friend from South Grey (Mr. Oliver) ought to get up and throw his

hat in the air for a government that would spend and give to the municipalities of this province ten times as much money, -- thirty million dollars this past year.

MR. OLIVER: And take from them. ten times as much.

MR. FROST: Who is paying for them? Let me point out that we have heard of something over a million registrations. I think my friend the Minister of "Ro-Creation" (Mr. Cecile) will say that we have five or six million cars coming into this province this year. Is that not right? He says that is a small estimate. Well, I am always on the safe side. We will say that there are five or six million cars coming into this province. What my friend over there would do would be to reduce the taxes for our visitors and leave our people to pay the bills. That is the sense of the argument that he makes.

MR. DENNISON: Do not forget the one cent a mile tax.

MR. FROST: In hurrying along, I should like to make some reference to the Seaway. Our position has been made abundantly clear. We have been favourable to the Seaway from the commencement of things. I think we

did our best to induce our cousins to the south to come into this. The word had not been flashed over the wires to us that the people on the other side had rejected the proposals that we made, before we said that we were prepared to "go it alone", and we got in touch with the Federal government to that end. Our plans are ready; we can use the power; we are prepared, Mr. Speaker, to go ahead.

As regards being more specific about matters, let me point this out, that after all the Prime Minister of this country must deal with the international aspects of this problem. We here have our problem. We have our sister province of Quebec. We have the Federal government. We have the State of New York, -- probably the City of New York. And we have the government of the United States. These matters involve delicate negotiations. I want to state frankly to this House that we have been in the closest consultation for a considerable period of time with the Federal government; and I notice that the papers say who have been our main negotiators, -- the Chairman of the Commission, the Vice-chairman, Mr. Hearn, the General Manager, and Mr. Magone, the Deputy Attorney General. We have been, as I said, in close negotiation and consultation with the Federal authorities over this matter;

and I think it is only fair and proper to say that the next announcements in connection with this must come from the Prime Minister of Canada himself. To prejudge, to say something here that would make these delicate negotiations more difficult and delicate for him, would be totally undesirable. But I would like here to re-affirm my faith in this country by saying that Canada is prepared and is able to "go it alone". Much as we would like our friends from the south to come into partnership with us, if they do not want to do so, we must ask them to step out of the way and not interfere with our doing the job.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. FROST: In concluding on that point that has been raised by my friends, let me say that this project has been talked of for twenty-five years or more. I would point out to those prophets of gloom across the way who say that nothing is being done and who cannot look above the troubles which seem to becloud and surround them, that this is being done by this government after twenty-five years.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

MR. OLIVER: What is being done?

MR. FROST: I am satisfied of this, that the Seaway will proceed, that Ontario will be a partner, and that it will not be long, it will be a very short time until this great project will be proceeded with.

Looking at the amendment which has been introduced by my friends opposite, let me say this to them. In 1943 this House embarked on the wrong policy, it started off on the wrong foot in connection with paying bonuses. At that time I must admit that it seemed to me to be the course that should be taken. It was one of those things in which, generally, we were all wrong. That proceeded until 1949, and we never got any action anywhere until one morning towards the close of the Session of 1949 the proposal was made by the Minister of Public Welfare (Mr. Goodfellow) that we abandon this bonus business and that we pay our percentage or proportion of the $10. increase. Within two or three weeks that was accepted by the Federal government and the basic pension was raised to $40. a month.

(Take "DD" follows)

After all the experimentation that took place over the preceding six or seven years, then the solution became plain, and our friends admitted. As the result of that morning in this Assembly and what was undertaken at that moment, the pension was raised to forty dollars a month and here, years later, we are able to come to this House with an agreement, and we, in this Legislature, are the first Parliament in Canada to pass that legislation, and make this great reform available for our people. No other Legislature has passed that legislation. Sir, we are the first to do that.

Mr. Speaker, in the face of the great progress we have made, in the face of the great reforms we are able to introduce in this Legislature, and if passed this week, these prophets of gloom who sit opposite -- these people who all think differently -- ask us to take the old car and get it off the trolley again. Mr. Speaker, that is not the way to make progress.

I ask the hon. members opposite who failed at every Dominion-Provincial Conference, the group opposite represented by eleven or twelve hon. members, who did not come out of a single Federal-Provincial Conference with anything of value --

MR. HARRY NIXON (Brant): That is not correct.

MR. FROST: Why did you not take the course we took, when nothing was ever done?

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: That, Mr. Speaker, is what happened with the hon. members opposite, and on both sides, the prophets of gloom sit and side in with them, in a policy of that sort.

Mr. Speaker, I am satisfied with this -- and it is true -- that more progress has been made in the last two years in legislation calculated to help our citizens than ever before in the history of this Province, and, indeed, I say to the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod) in any Province in Canada.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: He admits that. When I look at what we have done to better the lot of our people; when I look at this Session in this Legislature, with legislation introduced and passed to bring in nearly two hundred thousand more people, and to assist them in these difficult days; when I look at the legislation we have introduced to abolish discrimination on the ground of race or creed; when I look at all the plans with which this Government has proceeded, after all these years of talk, plans for assistance to handicapped persons; when I look at the assistance to municipalities,

and realize that by this one measure alone, further assistance is given to the municipalities of our Province, Mr. Speaker, I should think that the hon. members of the Opposition would go outside and hang their heads in shame for their lack of faith in this country and in this Province.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: Now, Mr. Speaker, I should like to say something about Federal-Provincial relationships, just for a moment. I would not want the hon. member for North Waterloo to go around repeating that speech of his which is so out-of-date and so incorrect. I would like to give him, as I gave him the other day, the true picture of the situation.

I may say, Mr. Speaker, in giving to this House statements of these last five years, which will end on the 31st of March next year, there are certain things which we have to reconcile. First of all is this; that when we prepare a statement as of the 31st of March next year to make the statement fair, we must include in it payments which are made by the Federal Government up to the 30th of June next year. And the reason for that is, that payments under the Dominion-Provincial agreement by those who accepted it, are not

all concluded on the 31st of March next year, but are continued to the 30th of June. Therefore, in order to provide for a fair reconciliation, you have to advance the payments which will be made up to the 30th of June next year, from the 31st of March.

To get a fair picture, we must remember that on the 31st of March next year, the taxes which accrue to the Province are not all due. In some cases they may be due, but may be unpaid. There is a backlog inevitably at that point, and to arrive at a true picture, you have to accelerate the payments on both sides.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would be just as satisfied not to accelerate the payments, for this reason; that in order to effect that condition, I am accelerating some twenty-six and one-half million dollars, which will come from the Federal Government, and, on the other hand, I am only accelerating about ten million dollars in arrears of taxes. So if you leave both of these payments out of the picture I have given you, it is better.

However, I think to get a true picture of what is taking place, I should accelerate both of these amounts. And this is the picture: the total of the

proposed payments as of the 31st of March, 1952, with the June 30th payments of next year brought forward into it, is $447,287,000, which is about three and one-quarter million dollars more than quoted by the hon. member (Mr. Brown) this morning.

On the other hand, we have these things: our revenue which will be actually in that period of time, is comprised of:

"Statutory Subsidies	$16,269,000.
Corporation Taxes	332,784,000.
Succession Duties	84,746,000.
Mining Royalties	7,000,000.
Logging Royalties	1,000,000.
Balance of taxes due or uncollected,	10,000,000.
Making a total of	451,799,000."

That means that the surplus of collections would be four and one-half million dollars greater from the fields we have occupied, than they would be from the total rental of all the fields we were asked to rent.

Mr. Speaker, if you take out these accelerated payments, and leave them just for this year, the Dominion total would be reduced by twenty-six and one-half million

dollars, and our total would be reduced by ten million dollars, which would increase the balance in favour of our own tax collections.

If you add to that the five percent which we feel the Dominion has collected, and which they might justly and properly pay to us, you would add another seventy-two million dollars to that figure, making a balance in our favour of nearly seventy-seven million dollars. That last item, of course, I am not raising.

I would say to the hon. members opposite that I think the fact is, that sum is owed to us as there is recognition of that in the new proposal. I say that quite frankly. But, nevertheless, for the last five years I think we can complain of some injustice perhaps to the two central Provinces in that regard. However, we have been able to go ahead without any increase in those rates, indeed, with some reduction in those rates since 1947, and we have been able to come out in front in a transaction which our hon. friends opposite urged us not to carry on.

To-day we stand, as I say, having hurt nobody, having, indeed, strengthened the Federal position, having given to our people greater services, coming to this House with an old-age pension proposal which the hon. members opposite said could not come about, and yet with

our powers undiminished and with this whole Province in a position to go ahead and finance its way, build the seaway, extend to our people the finest of services, expand our services in education, give free schoolbooks to our children, and all these other things, and, still, Mr. Speaker, we have been able to balance our budget, our credit was never greater or cleaner than it is at the present time, and we are able to go into the money markets, not only in Canada, but in the principal money markets of the world, and they like to get Ontario securities. If the hon. members opposite who are so gloomy, and are talking about the fact that this old Province is "going to the dogs", I ask them to look --

MR. MacLEOD: Who said that?

MR. FROST: Why, the hon. member for Bellwoods (Mr. MacLeod).

I listened to the hon. member; he had his head down, bowed in sorrow; he laboured the problems and evils which were over-taking this fair Province of ours, in a day of its greatest expansion and development.

I could not help thinking, when he was speaking, about these things. He spoke about the fact that nothing is being done. Mr. Speaker, when I was first elected to this Legislature back in 1937, I remember a very eloquent

leader of the small remnant opposite came to the good old town of Lindsay and spoke about "back to Niagara". He never took them "back to Niagara". He, and those who were with him took the people back to the wilderness.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: He never took them back to Niagara. The fact of the matter is, that is the last we heard of Niagara. Who took you back to Niagara? This Government, right here. You are back to Niagara to-day with the greatest project imaginable, which is going to provide nearly one million horsepower to raise the living standards of the people of this Province. That is what this Government has done.

I have told you about our relationship with other Governments; what about the bankrupt policies of the hon. members opposite, whose "great record" to-day is that they never conducted a successful Dominion-Provincial Conference.

MR. NIXON: That is not correct, Mr. Speaker.

MR. FROST: They walked out of the Conference --

MR. NIXON: Will the Hon. Prime Minister grant me one observation here this Session? What about the wartime tax agreement? Was that not a successful conference?

MR. FROST: I would not say it was. If that is

what you call "successful", it cost us about one hundred million dollars down there. You went down there when the enemy was at the gate and you did give away --

MR. MacLEOD: It was a small price to pay.

MR. FROST: --with the consent of this Assembly, the people did not hesitate to pay to win the war, but that was not a "successful" Federal-Provincial Conference.

MR. NIXON: You agreed with it at the time.

MR. FROST: Of course, and I would agree with it again. If we were faced again with a similar situation, if it was necessary for us to pull in our belts, we would be glad to do it to maintain our way of life and keep the old flag flying.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: Of course we would.

Nothing ever came from other conferences except a lot of steam, and except that somebody walked out mad, and threw something on the floor. Now that we are able to go down and sit with the governments of Canada, federally and provincially, and arrive at a fruitful agreement, and bring it back to this Assembly for you to pass upon, you are complaining, and yet the hon. members of the Opposition yesterday were so anxious to vote for a Government measure that they rose in their own places and voted for it, and asked that their votes be recorded for

the legislation which was being advanced by this Government.

MR. WISMER: Which we advanced ten years ago.

MR. FROST: I think the people of Cape Breton should be ashamed to have such an ambassador go out from that island, spreading such gloom, that he should hang his head in shame, and yet here to-day he says that nothing is being done.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: What about the seaway? For twenty-five years we have been talking about it.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: And are still talking.

MR. FROST: The hon. members opposite are doing the talking. We are doing the acting. It will be a fact.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: It will be a fact, not because of the prophets of gloom opposite --

MR. SALSBERG: You are certainly very active to-day.

MR. FROST: -- but because of people who have faith in Canada and faith in this Province. This will be done.

MR. NIXON: The fact is, that because the Federal Government does it.

MR. FROST: The hon. member (Mr. Nixon) is raising an irrelevant matter. Who sparked this issue? The Government of Ontario sparked this issue.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: I would say there has been nothing but a procession of talk from the hon. members opposite, and a repetition of lack of faith in this Province. I wonder what they would think if they turned back the pages of history just a dozen years ago, and read about how these people were talking about unneeded power in this great province? No wonder they are ashamed of themselves.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. OLIVER: You are indeed going far afield to-day.

MR. FROST: I will say that I did not intend to get into this, but the hon. members opposite inspire me to say something, and I am trying to shake them out of their gloom --

MR. OLIVER: "Lethargy".

MR. FROST: -- which pervades their minds.

Now, the question has been raised about an election.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: We have a curious situation here with the different groups of people opposite. They all

pull in separate directions, until it comes time to vote on an amendment, and then they suddenly get together and vote for the amendment. We have had one voice running around this Province for nearly a year now demanding an election.

MR. JOLLIFFE: Promising an election.

MR. FROST: Yes, promising an election; disturbing our people.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: "Yelling in the wilderness".

MR. SALSBERG: Oh, that is copyrighted.

MR. MacLEOD: That is plagiarism.

MR. FROST: On the other hand, we have this group over here who seem to not only lack confidence in Ontario and Canada, but in themselves as well. They have been soft-pedalling; they have been saying nothing.

MR. WISMER: Do you want an election, Mr. Prime Minister?

MR. FROST: And the hon. members opposite of the Labour-Progressive group; I am sure that the last thing they want is an election. If we had a record like theirs, we would not want an election, either.

MR. SALSBERG: But we are always ready.

MR. FROST: I may say this, Mr. Speaker, that we have no fear consulting our boss, old man Ontario,

asking him for his advice, and asking him for his direction. We have no fear of consulting him at any time.

I will simply make this promise to the hon. members opposite, that when the time comes we will do it with a clear conscience, and we will give them lots of notice of our intention to do it.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. FROST: That is all I have to say to-day, sir. I would just urge the hon. members opposite to change their minds, to mend their ways, and come over and vote for the Government which has done such great things for Ontario.

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. A. A. MacLEOD (Bellwoods): Mr. Speaker, I would ask the indulgence of the House. I have become so accustomed to moving my traditional amendment, following the disposition of the amendment to the group to my right, that I omitted at the conclusion of my own remarks to move the amendment which I had prepared.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that because of that over-sight, you and the House will permit me the privilege I have always had of offering an amendment. The Hon. Prime Minister looks quite grim, but I think he will agree. It will only take a moment.

May I have your permission to move the amendment?

MR. SPEAKER: Granted.

MR. MacLEOD: Then I would move, seconded by Mr. Salsberg, that the amendment to the motion for an address in reply to the speech of the Honourable, the Lieutenant-Governor, now before the House, be amended by striking out all the words after the word "government" in the second line, and substituting therefor, the following:

> "To make provision for the most needy victims of inflation, and in particular its refusal to use its ample revenues to restore the ten-dollar monthly supplement and provide adequate health services for our senior citizens."

So that the amendment as amended shall read:

> "But this House, while acknowledging progress made in relation to old-age assistance, regrets the refusal of the Government to make provision for the most needy victims of inflation, and in particular its refusal to use its ample revenues to restore the ten-dollar monthly supplement and provide adequate health services for our senior citizens."

MR. SPEAKER: Would it be satisfactory if I omitted reading the original motion and the original amendment, or shall I read all the motion?

SOME hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

The amendment to the amendment negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: The vote now is on the amendment to the original motion.

The House divided.

MR. SPEAKER: Call in the members.

The amendment negatived on Division.

Ayes: 35

Nays: 49

The motion agreed to.

HON. LESLIE M. FROST (Prime Minister): Order Number 1.

OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: First order; third reading of Bill Number 1, "An Act respecting Old-Age Assistance", Mr. Goodfellow.

HON. W. H. GOODFELLOW (Minister of Public Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I move third reading of Bill Number 1.

Motion agreed to; third reading of the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: Resolved that the Bill do now pass and be intituled as in the motion.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Order Number 2.

ALLOWANCES FOR BLIND PERSONS.

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: Second Order, third reading of Bill Number 2, "An Act respecting Allowances for Blind Persons", Mr. Goodfellow.

HON. W. H. GOODFELLOW (Minister of Public Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I move third reading of Bill Number 2.

Motion agreed to; third reading of the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: Resolved that the Bill do now pass and be intituled as in the motion.

HON. L. M. FROST (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, that concludes the business for this Session. I would ask your permission to retire and escort his Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor to the Chamber to prorogue the House.

The Honourable, the Lieutenant-Governor, entered the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly, and took his seat upon the Throne.

MR. SPEAKER: May it please your Honour, the Legislative Assembly of the Province has, at its present sittings, passed certain Bills, to which, on behalf and in the name of the said Assembly, I respectfully request your Honour's assent.

THE CLERK ASSISTANT: Bill Number 1, "An Act respecting Old-Age Assistance".

Bill Number 2, "An Act respecting allowances for Blind Persons."

CLERK OF THE HOUSE: In His Majesty's name, the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor doth assent to these Bills.

His Honour was then pleased to deliver the following gracious speech:

Mr. Speaker and members of the Legislative Assembly:

It is my duty to prorogue this special session of the twenty-third Legislature of the Province of Ontario. I wish to thank you in the name of His Majesty for your loyal attention to the business of the people of this Province.

We again pray that His Majesty, The King, will be restored to health and long spared. It is gratifying to learn that his condition is improving, and, with all of his loyal subjects, we hope fervently that he will pass successfully the imminent critical stage of his illness. Our sympathy and affection go to all members of the Royal Family and we pray that they may be spared, so far as can be, the great anxieties of

their high public office.

During this special session you have passed two measures of great significance to the well-being and security of our people. Under these measures my Government may now enter into formal agreements with the Government of Canada which will provide financial assistance to those of our citizens between the ages of sixty-five and seventy years who require it. A new form of assistance in co-operation with the Government of Canada will become available to those persons afflicted with blindness, between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-five years who may be facing difficult financial problems.

These two measures implement decisions arrived at by the Federal and Provincial Governments in a spirit which recognizes, and amplifies, the conception of unity of purpose within all of the people of Canada. These measures become an integral part, with the universal old age pension, of a great programme of national security.

Provision has also been made for the appropriation of public funds for the purposes of these measures, for which I express my thanks.

May I thank you also for your loyal service

to our people and I am confident that under the guidance of Divine Providence the security of the people of this Province, and indeed of the people of the whole of Canada, will be strengthened.

HON. G. A. WELSH (Provincial Secretary): Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly; it is the will and pleasure of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor that this Legislative Assembly be prorogued, and that this Legislative Assembly is accordingly prorogued.

The Lieutenant-Governor was then pleased to retire from the Chamber.

The Legislative Assembly prorogued at 4.12 of the clock p.m.

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ONTARIO

Fourth Session
of the
Twenty-Third Legislature
of the
Province of Ontario

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Toronto, Ontario, September 24, 1951, et seq.

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and
ERRATA

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HON. (Rev.) M. C. DAVIES, - Speaker.

R. C. Sturgeon,
Chief Hansard Reporter
Parliament Buildings
Toronto

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of the

FOURTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH LEGISLATURE, HELD IN THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER, TORONTO, ONTARIO, SEPTEMBER 24, 1951, ET SEQ.,

E R R A T A .

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Vol. 1. Page A-12: Line 13; change "boarder" to "board.

Line 20: Change "every" to "a very".

Vol. 2. Page B-8; line 14: Change "Rt. hon. Mr. Meighen" to "Rt. hon. Mr. King".

Vol. 2: Page B-23; line 23: Change "conscious" to "conscience of".

Vol. 2. Page B-28; line 23: Change "Senator Ballou" to "Senator Beaubien".

Line: Change "Bosco" to "Dosco".

Vol. 2. Page B-31; line 5; Change to read "It is shocking" after the words "I say".

Vol. 2. Page B-35; line12: Change "conjure" to "ponder".

Vol. 2. Page B-29; line 14: Change "heated" to "hated".

Vol. 3. Page B-11; line 2: Change "indication" to "invitation".

Vol. 4. Page C-15. Line 14: Insert "in" between "were " and "those".

Errata.

Vol. 4. Page D-11. Line 22: Change "business" to "assistance".

Vol. 4. Page AA-6. Line 16: Insert "hon. Leader of the Opposition" between "Mr. Thompson" and "and" Bracket "Mr. Jolliffe".

Vol. 4. Page AA-11. Line 21: Change "or" to "to".

Vol. 4. Page BB-1. Lines 1 to 3 inclusive. Delete.

Vol. 4. Page BB-16. Line 12: Change "there" to "we".

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P R O C E E D I N G S

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Hon. (Rev.) M. C. Davies, Speaker,
Presiding.

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